

SPEECH

OF

MR. DUNCAN OF OHIO,
Daniel Duncan, 1806 - 1849

ON THE

GENERAL APPROPRIATION BILL FOR 1840.

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 10, 1840.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED AT THE GLOBE OFFICE.

1840.

1874

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from

This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

SPEECH.

In the House of Representatives, April 10, 1840—On the bill making appropriation for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year 1840.

Mr. DUNCAN having the floor, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I believe the bill before the committee is the general appropriation bill.

[The CHAIR answered it was.]

I will inquire if there is any particular amendment, or any particular section of the bill, now under discussion?

[The CHAIR answered, no.]

So I supposed, from the range and character of the debate yesterday. The debate yesterday was monopolized by the Opposition; and they talked of every thing that is now, ever was, and is to come—abuses of power, panic, ruin, and desolation, of our lamented country—and the profligacy and extravagance of the Administration formed, as usual, the principal themes. Well, sir, I like such latitude in debate; it is in character with the liberal, latitudinarian, and free spirit of our political and religious institutions. I think I will take advantage of the latitude in debate now enjoyed, and talk of some things, too, not immediately connected with the subject before the committee.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to inform the people of this country that such is the frame and character of our Government, that the Executive has no power to appropriate a dollar of the public money for any purpose, nor has he power to expend a dollar only as he is authorized by Congress. Whatever of profligacy may exist in the management of this Government must be exclusively charged to Congress; and yet the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WISE] stated on yesterday that the Executive is, and has been, responsible for the last six or seven years for every dollar which has been appropriated and expended by Congress. The gentleman holds the Executive responsible for that over which he has no control. Can the President control the expenditures of Congress? No, sir. Congress has the power of making appropriations to any amount, and for any purpose, without consulting the President—without his approbation, and contrary to his wish. The power of the President to prohibit extravagant appropriations is negative; and even that power avails him nothing, provided two-thirds of each

branch of Congress vote for an appropriation; for the bill making the appropriation, in that case, is a law with or without his signature or approbation. Sir, I refer you to the President's messages, and to the reports and estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury for the truth of the fact, that one-half of all the moneys appropriated is done by the authority, and upon the responsibility of Congress alone. The Secretary of the Treasury presents to Congress estimates of the amount of appropriations necessary for Government purposes, and the President endorses these estimates and recommends them. Here his responsibility ends; but Congress have yearly made appropriations far above the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, and for other purposes entirely, than those recommended. Is the Executive to be held responsible for such appropriations as these, and, in consequence of them, denounced for extravagance and profligacy, far and wide as the Union? The intelligence of an honest community supersedes the necessity of reply to such denunciations.

But let me refer you to the journals of this House, for the truth of another strange fact. That is, that more than three-fourths of all the appropriations made, over and above the estimates recommended by the Secretary, and endorsed by the President, have been proposed by the Opposition, and carried by a majority of their votes. How does this fact correspond with the never-ceasing howl of extravagance with which we are annoyed, and with which the country is perpetually alarmed?

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CUSHING] followed in the wake of the gentleman from Virginia, and concurs with him in holding the Executive responsible for such appropriations. Yes, sir, he goes further: he not only holds him responsible for such appropriations, but he holds him responsible for any estimates that he may recommend, over and above what may strictly be wanted for the ordinary support of the Government. Further: he holds the Executive responsible for failing to recommend estimates and appropriations for purposes of internal improvements, when and where they are or shall be necessary. This is strict accountability on the broadest principles; and what does it all mean? It means, sir, 1st. If Congress appropriates money without the knowledge and contrary to the wish of the President, he is

be held responsible. 2d. If the President recommends one dollar over the estimates actually necessary for Government purposes, for internal improvements, or any other purpose, he is to be held responsible, and denounced for extravagance and profligacy; and lastly, if the President withholds his recommendation of appropriations for the purposes of internal improvements, security on the seaboard, &c. he is to be held responsible, and denounced for "*meanly sneaking and skulking*" from the responsibility and duties attached to his office.

Verily, these gentlemen remind me of a certain Procrustes I once read of—a man of horrible cruelty. It is said of him that he used to place on a bed, travellers who fell into his hands, and if they were too long for his bed, he cut off the projecting part, and if they were too short, he placed anvils under their feet, and beat them out till they equalled the length of the bed.

Mr. Chairman, I am not extravagant when I say one half of the time of this House is consumed by the Opposition in denouncing the Administration for its profligacy and extravagance. If the Opposition are sincere in the charges which they make, will the people not hold them to a fearful accountability for their gross neglect of duty when they are apprised of the fact that not the first attempt has been made by that party to reform the abuses of which they complain? If such abuses exist, the solemn oath they have taken, in presence of Heaven and man, to faithfully discharge their official duties, binds them to the throne of eternal responsibility to their conscience and to their country, to point out those abuses, and to recommend a remedy. If they will, the Democratic party here, to a man, will gladly join with them, heart and hand, in assisting them in reformation. Where are the abuses of which you complain? Are there more officers than are necessary to manage the Government? then point them out, and they will be removed. Are there officers who do not do their duty? point them out, and they will be reformed. Are the salaries of officers and clerks higher than necessary to secure men competent and qualified to discharge the duties and trusts severally connected with their offices? then point them out, and they will be reduced. Sir, I have a right to demand that the Opposition shall discharge the duties I have here proposed. The country will demand it at their hands, or they must cease their clamor of profligacy against the Administration. But they will not attempt to propose a reform, or point out an evil. They know that the Government is as well and as economically administered as it can be. They know that the business of the Government cannot be administered with a less number of officers and clerks than are now employed; and they also know that competent men cannot be obtained to discharge the official duties, for salaries reduced below their present standard.

Extravagance and profligacy is the howl of the demagogue in all Governments, and it is the howl of the demagogue in this Government.

I have said that the Opposition have pointed to no instance of extravagance. I was wrong. They have pointed out one item. I allude to the public printing. That item has been thrown up to the Democracy more than one thousand times this ses-

sion; and from the fact that that single item has been harped upon in almost every speech that has been made by the Opposition, it is fair to presume they know of no other instance of extravagance; and how do they stand in relation to that. During the last Congress the Opposition had a decided majority in this House. They elected a Printer of their own party. Yes, sir, they elected a man of their own; and who was he? A miserable tool of a miserable faction—(I mean the Conservatives)—an empty, brainless coxcomb, without a name, a residence, or a foothold on the face of the earth—a penniless loafer—one of the gaunt lounging office seekers that beset this Capitol, and ride you like the nightmare, without the means of doing the printing, and, I believe, without the first dollar to procure the means; and what was the consequence of his election? The public printing, in place of being done by the Government's confidential sworn officer, was farmed out to Gales and Seaton, not confidential and sworn officers of the Government. Yes, sir, the public printing was farmed out, and the man of straw elected (I mean the Editor of the *Madonian*) received ten thousand dollars per annum for the office and trust thus reposed in him, and Gales and Seaton did the printing for the balance of the profits. What was the course of the Opposition then, think you? Was it to reduce the printing? No, sir; not a word was then said about the extravagance and profligacy of the public printing; but, on the contrary, more fat jobs of printing were thrown into the hands of that corrupt and fraudulent combination than has ever been done in any Congress since the organization of the Government, or the establishment of public Printer, by which the public printing was swelled to upwards of \$231,000, which is more than double as much as it ever amounted to before, and that enabled Gales and Seaton to pay the enormous rent of ten thousand dollars. But as soon as the party character of this House was changed, and the printing was about to fall into Democratic hands, the yelp of extravagance in the public printing was raised by a hundred Whig tongues, that had before been as silent on that subject as the grave. But, sir, what did the Democracy do on the revolution of the gentleman from Georgia? [Mr. BLACK.] They ordered a committee to investigate the subject of the public printing, and to report to this House what they might find to be a fair and just compensation for the public printing; and Blair and Rives were elected public printers on the condition that they were to receive such a compensation. That committee have made their report; it is now on the Clerk's table; it is in favor of retrenchment, and the Democracy will sustain it. So much for reform in the public printing the only item of pretended extravagance pointed out or attempted to be exposed by the Opposition; and that item would have remained unexposed by them if the printing had remained in the hands of their party pets.

"Office holders and spoils party." Sir, have not every feeling you possess, physical and mental, been nauseated and sickened at that incessant cry—that miserable hungry howl of lamentation, which is never permitted to die on your ear? I once before exposed the fact by tables and figures, that

more than one-half of all the offices of this Government are occupied by Federalists, and I now assert it to be a fact; but one-half is not enough for them. "*Being of the better sort of society,*" they claim them all; and nothing short of their full possession will ever satisfy a party whose principles teach them to believe they are born to rule the "*common people.*" The Federal party claim office as a natural and political right: composed, as they claim to be, of "*the decency,*" and "*better sort of people,*" they "*are born to rule the swinish multitude.*" This right has been disputed by the Democracy, and it is this dispute, and the rights and principles involved, that have produced all the political struggles and turmoils that have been witnessed since the commencement of our Government. Will the Democracy now surrender? Heretofore the claims of the Federalists for all the offices have been made in blustering demands; now they are made in pitiful whining, sickening, crocodile whimpers. The Democracy, in the support of stern principles, resisted the one? Will they now permit their sympathies to be so overcome as to yield to the other? Will they permit their principles, to maintain which they have so long, and so manfully contended, now to be sacrificed at the hungry yelp and pitiful whine of a host of lean, lank, lazy, lounging office seekers, which beset this Capitol, and annoy the country elsewhere? "*The spoils party;*" and what would the hungry Federal office seekers be, if they were to get all the offices and spoils! would they not be "*the spoils party*" too; and how much would the community be benefited! by the change? I ask what benefit the tax paying community would derive by turning out the well fed, fat, clean, sleek, Democratic office holders, and putting in a swarm of hungry, lean, starved, Federal office seekers?

Panic! panic! panic! That's the string to pull. Turn back to the history of your Presidential elections, and show me one in the political statistics of your country, if you can, that has not been swamped in the Federal cry of *panic*. Examine the public journals from the commencement of Presidential elections to this time, and you will find by them that every year that a President has had to be elected, is a year of panic and desolation. The cry of "*panic and desolation*" is one of the standing modes of electioneering. The people understand it, and are no longer to be gulled by it, and they look with contempt upon those who make it, as they do upon the slanderer and calumniator of American institutions and the American character. The yelp of panic, ruin, and distress, is now overspreading the land and doing its base and dirty work of slander upon the character of our country. Where is the panic and distress to be found? Where it always will be found: among the penniless loafers of your country—those who are too lazy and too proud to work, and have nothing to trade upon. All the panic and distress we have, consists in the inability of that class to enjoy the "*glories of the credit system*." Show me the man in our widespread Union (except he has been the subject of misfortune) who depends upon his own industry and his own resources, that cannot laugh at your panic and sneer at your demagogical cry of distress. And

here I must qualify this general remark, by the exception of many hundreds of persons of the most useful class of society. I mean those who labor in manufactories. They are, no doubt, seriously affected by the depressed and deranged state of the currency; but all their difficulties grow out of their connection with institutions, the proprietors and owners of which have not capital of their own by which to conduct them. If such persons will study their own real interests, they will cut loose from such establishments and such proprietors, change their business, or engage in the employment of those who have not to depend upon the smiles and favors of banks, and the uncertainties of the "*glorious credit system.*"

But, sir, what if there is distress and panic in the country? What is the cause of it but your miserable banking and credit system—a system that the united efforts of the Democracy have been directed to overthrow, so far as it is exclusive, monopolizing, and partial in its operation—a system, which, so long as it exists, will produce periodical derangement of the currency of the country, and distress with those who trade upon capital not their own.

But, I repeat, what if there is panic and distress in the country? Has Congress power to give relief? What constitutional authority have we for making this Capitol a poor-house? And by what constitutional authority can members of Congress, in their representative capacity, assume to themselves the office of overseers of the poor? Such a use of this Capitol, and such a usurpation of office, and such an exercise of power, were never contemplated by the framers of this Government; nor is it any where, except in the babbling noise of the demagogue, or in the brain of the raving political monomaniac. Sir, it is a settled principle, and a fact well known and universally understood, that all the wealth of this country is dug in sweat from her soil; and all the comforts and conveniences of life are the offspring of the united labor of the farmer and the mechanic, and upon that must we depend for all we possess, either as a nation or as individuals composing a nation. And let me assure you, whatever system of policy may be established by legislation, which will enable one part of the community to live without labor, must and will have the tendency to throw a greater portion of labor upon those not so favored. Such is the natural consequence, and such the practical effect, as all experience has shown, and will continue to show; and such is the credit and banking system, as it has existed, and now exists, in this country.

All the panic and distress that now hangs over us as a people, or any portion of us, had their origin in extravagance, idleness, or overtrading. That fact dare not be denied; nor dare it be denied that they have had their foundation in the credit and banking system, by the facilities they afford to live without labor, and temptations to speculate.

While I am unwilling to admit that any man here can go before me in commiserating the misfortunes of my fellow beings, nor can any one rejoice more at the prosperity of our country, and the happiness of every class of society, than I do, yet I hold that Congress has neither the power nor

means to give relief in cases of distress. I say that Congress has no such power. I mean by that, that Congress has no power to tax one portion of the community to relieve the distresses of another. Such a power cannot be exercised in justice, nor did ever the framers of the Constitution contemplate such an exercise of power. Congress can give no relief on any other principle than by an unjust and unconstitutional system of taxation, either directly or indirectly. To all such applications for relief, (I mean for such distress as is now said to pervade the country,) as a Representative, I must say, (however cold, heartless, and disconsolate the advice may be considered,) go home, work harder, and live more economically, and relief will be your reward. Sir, I have said that the cry of panic, as in times before, is made for political effect and party purposes. It is so, and such is the object of the demagogue. But I have the charity to believe that some of those who are attempting to spread the alarm of distress are, or think they are, sincere; but I am constrained to believe that many of that class are laboring under a species of derangement. There is a kind of derangement called monomania, which leaves the individual affected with it in full possession of his reasoning powers, on all subjects except the one on which he is deranged. For instance, the monomaniac is deranged on the subject of religion, and perfectly rational on all others. Hence it is that some persons fancy themselves to be the Saviour of mankind, or to be one of the ancient prophets, and, in some instances, to be the Almighty himself; or he may be deranged upon the subject of mechanics; hence it is you hear of persons spending a great portion of their lives in attempting to invent the perpetual motion. So it is with the alchemist, who spends his life in pursuit of the philosopher's stone. So it is with metaphysics, &c. And yet persons laboring under this species of derangement may be perfectly capable of attending to ordinary business. Professor Tital of Jena continued to perform his professional duties for some time, although laboring under the fixed hallucination of believing himself to be Emperor of Rome. Many other instances of a similar character could be cited. Alexander Pope, in a few lines, illustrates, in an interesting and forcible manner, the various effects of monomania on different individuals. He sung thus:

"Unnumbered throngs on every side are seen,
Of bodies changed by various forms of spleen,
Here living teapots stand, one arm held out,
One bent; the handle this, and that the spout;
A pipkin there, like Homer's tripod, walks;
Here sighs a jar, and there a goose-pie talks,
Men prove with child, as powerful fancy works,
And maids, turned bottles, cry aloud for corks."

Well, sir, we see that men become deranged on religion, mechanics, metaphysics, &c.; why may they not become deranged on the subject of politics? They do. Our medical records furnish many instances of the kind; so they do on subjects of finance and economy. The celebrated Doctor Eberly informs us that he knew a person who for more than twenty years was firmly persuaded that he was the President of the United States; and yet this man would converse and think rationally upon all the ordinary concerns of life. We have all

heard of persons in affluent circumstances pinching themselves with hunger, and clothed in rags, lest they should come to want and die in poverty. Such is the political monomania under which some of our politicians are now raving: and if Alexander Pope lived at this day and in our country, he would sing—

"Men often turn from reason's shining way
To chase a phantom in the light of day;
Sane in all matters save the affairs of state,
And wild in them as in the rest they're great.

Now preach they panic with a sing-song tone,
When panic lives within their breasts alone;
Now hear they Furies yell in deep despair,
With deadly serpents hissing from their hair."

Politically mad as Bedlam's King,
Around the world their doleful song they sing,
O'er fertile fields they leave their baneful track,
Blow up the world, and chuckle at the crack.

Such is the hell-born phantasy that holds
The Federal prophet's in its crimson folds;
Makes banks perfection, by a simple thought,
And strives to teach men what can ne'er be taught."

But, Mr. Chairman, I told you I intended to talk of some things not immediately connected with the bill under consideration. I desire to talk some about the Presidential election. I hope I will not be considered out of order. When the simple proposition to instruct the Committee on Finance to report an appropriation for the Cumberland road, was before the House, the Whigs used up one entire week in attempting to prove that General Harrison ought to be elected President of the United States. I hope it will now be in order, on the general appropriation bill, for me to use an hour or two in attempting to prove that he should not be elected.

So, sir, I proceed with my proofs and objections.

One of the modes now employed to secure the overthrow of the Administration, and secure the election of the Federal candidate, is to impress on the minds of the people that General Harrison is a poor man, and therefore the poor man's friend: that he is the inmate of a log cabin, drinks hard cider, and is compelled, now in the sun-down of his life, to toil in sweat and dust for his daily maintenance; and therefore, if elected to the Presidency, will be capable of appreciating the poor man's condition, and will direct the administration of the Government with reference to the interests and benefits of that class of the community. These, if true, are powerful inducements for the poor and the friends of the poor to sustain General Harrison for the Presidency, all other circumstances being favorable. But that he is, or ever was, at heart, a friend to the poor man, I am prepared to doubt; and with a view of being as brief as possible, in support of this belief, I will give one illustration of the most forcible and undeniable character—and one, too, which, at the same time that it carries truth on its face, will serve to convince every man who reads it, or hears it read, that the poor man has but little to expect, on the side of mercy and favor, from General Harrison or his administration, if elected. General Harrison is in favor of, and has voted for, a law authorizing and requiring the sale of the poor man in bondage and degrading slavery for the payment of a fine and

*The Furies were said by the ancients to have fiery serpents hissing from their hair.

costs in which he might be mulcted, or what is tantamount thereto. This, sir, is a startling statement; but I have the proof at hand—read for yourself:

"Extract from the journal of the State of Ohio, dated
TUESDAY, January 30, 1821.

Senate met, pursuant to adjournment—

The Senate then, according to the order of the day, resolved into a committee of the whole on the bill from the House entitled "an act for the punishment of certain offences therein named," and after some time spent therein, the Speaker (Allen Trimble) resumed the chair.

Mr. Fithian then moved to strike out the 18th section of said bill, as follows:

"Be it further enacted, That when any person shall be imprisoned, either upon execution or otherwise, for the non-payment of a fine or cost, or both, it shall be lawful for the sheriff of the county to **SELL OUT SUCH PERSON** as a **SERVANT** to any person within this State, who will pay the whole amount due, for the shortest period of service; of which sale public notice shall be given at least ten days; and upon such sale being effected, the sheriff shall give the purchaser a certificate thereof, and from which time the relation between such purchaser and prisoner shall be that of **MASTER** and **SERVANT**, until the time of service expires; and for injuries done by either, remedy shall be had in the same manner as is, or may be, provided by law in the case of master and apprentice.

"But nothing therein mentioned shall be construed to prevent persons from being discharged from imprisonment according to the provisions of the thirty-seventh section of the act to which this is supplementary, if it shall be expedient to grant such discharge. Provided that the court, in pronouncing upon any person convicted under this act, or the act to which this is supplementary, may direct such person or persons to be detained in prison until the fine be paid, or persons otherwise disposed of agreeably to the provisions of this act."

And the yeas and nays being required; those who voted in the affirmative were; Messrs. Beasley, Brown, Fithian, Gass, Heaton, Jennings, Lucas, Mathews, McLaughlin, McNilton, Newcomb, Robb, Russell, Scofield, Shelby, Spencer, Stone, Swearingen, Thompson, and Womeldorf—20.

And those who voted in the negative were—Messrs. Baldwin, Cole, Foos, Foster, **WILLIAM H. HARRISON**, McLean, Os-
well, Pollack, Ruggles, Roberts, Wheeler and Speaker—12.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

Columbus, O. Sept. 10, 1836.

"I certify that the foregoing is a true and accurate copy from the journals of the Senate of the State of Ohio, being the first session of the 19th General Assembly, held at Columbus, December, 1820.

See pages 303, 304, 305.

CARTER B. HARLAN,
Secretary of State."

Sir, this is the journal, certified to by the proper officer; and in order that no false issue may be raised as to the meaning or intent of those who voted for and against a proposition degrading to the American character, at war with every principle of our free institutions, and constituting a black mark, and a foul stain, upon the legislative journals of a free State. I say, that there may be no false issue or mistake, I will submit the remarks of a distinguished statesman and patriot of the last war, at the time the measure was under discussion. I allude to Gen. Robert Lucas, who distinguished himself in our second war for independence; has for many years been a member of both branches of the Legislature of Ohio; her Governor for four years, and he is now Governor of the Territory of Iowa.

Hear what he said:

"General Robert Lucas, in the true spirit of patriotism, made the following remarks:

"What will be the operation of this section?" said Mr. Lucas. "We will suppose a case: suppose one of the patriots of the Revolution should be insulted by an enemy of his country, or a tory, who had fought against him in the struggle for liberty, and he should be provoked to commit an assault in defending the honor of his Government—by our laws he might be prosecuted and fined. He is poor and unable to pay the fine. What would follow under the provisions of this section? He is publicly **ADVERTISED FOR TO BE SOLD**—he is dragged by the crier along the streets—the man who provoked the assault, bids the amount of the fine and the shortest term of

service, say *forty years*—and the old patriot is knocked off to his per-bondage.

"Any unfortunate citizen, who, in an unguarded moment, might be thus subjected to the payment of a fine, would be liable to be sold under this section, and driven into slavery by a **FREE NEGRO**, should such a negro choose to become the purchaser.

"This would be revolting to every principle of humanity, and a disgrace to the age in which we live.

"The question was then taken on Mr. Fithian's motion, and carried in the affirmative—yeas 20, nays 12. So this obnoxious provision, voted for and defended by **WM. H. HARRISON**, does not now disgrace the statute books of Ohio."

And this, sir, is the manifestation of General Harrison's attachments to, and sympathies for, the poor man. What will the linsey hunting shirt wool hat inmate of the log cabin, who delights occasionally in taking a knock down for the laudable purpose of improving his courage, and hardening his body, (for which he may be made the subject of fine and costs, which he may not have the means of paying) say to such a manifestation? What will the crippled war-worn soldier, and patriot of the Revolution, say to such a manifestation? Did he buckle on his armor, march to the field of battle, face the cannon's mouth, and risk fortune, limb, and life, to break the chains of British slavery, that his sons and posterity to all time, (in the misfortunes of poverty) should be the subjects of a law that would have disgraced the conscripts of the tyrant in the most arbitrary and degraded days of Rome, and make them the subjects of bargain and sale, and the slaves of the purse-proud and unfeeling Shylock; and that too, for the mere *crimes* of poverty, or of not having the ability to pay a fine, and a few dollars and cents of cost? Sires of the Revolution! was this what you fought for; was it for this you bared your bosoms, and "bore up under the battle's hottest rage?" Had you no higher object than mere colonial emancipation to stimulate you, when you fought the enemy knee to knee, and breast to breast, on Bunker Hill, Monmouth, and Trenton, in suffocating dust and smoke; and when your brave comrades in arms were sinking in fatigue and death by your side? You are not here; I will answer for you. You had higher objects. Emancipation of your country, political liberty, religious toleration, and personal freedom, were your stimulants, your objects, and your rewards. Then, I ask, can you cast your suffrage to the support of a man for the highest office in your gift, who stands prepared in principle, and has attempted in practice, to sell your sons in slavery for the *crime* of poverty, or the misfortune of inability to liquidate a fine and cost, in which they may be mulcted by a little imprudence, without design or intention of crime? I am inclined to doubt Gen. Harrison's sympathies for the poor man.

But it is said that "General Harrison is a poor man, and lives in a log cabin, and that he toils in sweat and dust for his daily maintenance." These allegations are either false or they are true. If they are false, then it is an attempt to practise a base fraud upon the American people from motives of demagoguism; but I will presume, for the present, that they are true. And let me assure you that if General Harrison is of the right political faith, and is well qualified to discharge the complicated, responsible, and arduous duties which the Constitution, the interests of this country, and the policy of this Government impose on the President of the

United States, the fact of his being the tenant of a log cabin shall heighten my zeal and double my exertions to secure his election. The most devoted recollections that I have are associated with scenes and pleasures, in boyhood, with the inmates of log cabins. I was raised in a log cabin. All my youthful playmates were the tenants of log cabins; and all my youthful frolics were played off in log cabins.

Sir, I delight in the very name of a log cabin. There is no name in the English vocabulary that dwells upon my lips with so much delight as log cabin. It brings fresh to my recollection scenes of youthful pleasures, which I have never since, nor ever will again enjoy. Many and oft is the time that I thought a day a month, in anxious watch for the setting sun which was the token for the rally to the frolic of the log cabin, where I met the comrades of my youth in dance, play, and song. In the times of which I am speaking, log cabins were what the term means—a house made of round logs, one story high, of dimensions suited to the size or number of the family who were to inhabit it, and sometimes with reference to an *increase*, a punch on floor, a lin bark loft, and a clapboard roof. The industry of the matron and her daughters was displayed by the thick folds of linsey frocks, pantaloons, and hunting shirts, which behung its walls. Its loft was underhung with strings of dried pumpkins, and its capacity heated and lighted with a large wood fire from its capacious chimney. So much for the description. Now for the frolic. The frolic consisted in dancing, playing, and singing love and murder songs, eating johnny cake and pumpkin pies, and drinking new whiskey and brown sugar out of a gourd. Our dancing in my youthful day, and in my neighborhood, was done to the performance of an old Irishman with one leg, with the heel of which he beat time, a fiddle with three strings, to the air of

"Barney let the girls alone,
Barney let the girls alone,
Barney let the girls alone,
And let them quiet be.
Judy put the kettle on,
Judy put the kettle on,
Judy put the kettle on.
And we'll all take tea."

for, if I recollect right, I think our fiddler played but one tune.

But let me tell you, sir, our girls were not to be sneezed at. They presented a form in beauty that marked the developments of nature, when unrestrained by corsets, and the withering dissipation of fashionable and high life, and their guileless hearts looked through a countenance that demanded confidence in their innocence and unsullied virtue. But, oh! their forms! When you plied your arm to their waist in the giddy waltz, with the twenty-five yards of warm linsey in which they were comfortably enwrapped, you had an armful of health and firmness. These constituted my pleasures in the days of log cabins; and this is a description of log cabins, which, so far as it goes, will be recognised by those who have been reared in the Western country. But, sir, the days of log cabins have passed away in the older settlements of the West, and with them, most of the log cabins; and with the log

cabins, many of the amusements common to such tenements. All the older pioneers of the West and their descendants, who have observed that kind of prudence, industry, and economy, which constitute the character of the good citizen, and entitle him to the confidence of honest men, have possessed themselves of comfortable and commodious brick and frame houses, large barns, and well improved farms, checkered with grain fields of every color, and mantled with horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and with hard cash for a rainy day, and some to lend a friend in need.

General Harrison was one of the earliest settlers of the West. Why is he not provided with the means, too, of comforting the sundown of his life? It would seem, if he had possessed the ordinary prudence, industry, economy, and stability common to the pioneers of the West, and which has raised them from indigence to comfort and ease, and some of them to affluence, he would not now necessarily be the humble tenant of a log cabin and have to toil his winter-beaten frame in the chill of old age, for his daily bread. How does this matter stand? It has become our duty and our interest to inquire; for if his poverty is the result of misfortunes and untoward circumstances, over which he could have had no control, then is it a virtue, rather than a fault, and claims commiseration. But if it is the result of imprudence, extravagance, or of ill-directed judgment, the fault is his own; and such faults and frailties clearly render him unfit to be the Executive ruler of a great and powerful nation. What have been his misfortunes and what his opportunities? I profess to be somewhat acquainted with the history of General Harrison's political, military, and private life. I am his neighbor, and live in his county. As to his private life, I know of no stain that for a moment sullies him. I believe he is strictly honest; I believe he is liberal, but not so to a fault. I have never heard of any pecuniary misfortunes the lot of that man; and I think his history (and, by the by, let me here say, that I have very little confidence in the history of a man written and published in his life time; such a history is very apt to be colored and bedizened with adulation and flattery) represents him as the descendant of "*noble blood*;" of highly respectable and wealthy parentage. Wealthy parentage? Then he received at his outset a patrimony. What has become of that? Why, if it was not borne away upon the wings of misfortune, perhaps it was a sacrifice to the inexperience of youth. Be it so. That is not to be charged to him as a fault now; nor does it make him the less capable of discharging important official duties, for which he may have qualifications. But his history (verbal if not written) represents him as having received a large fortune in lands of the most valuable quality, and the most eligible location, by his marriage. What has become of that fortune? For its flight it will not be so easy to find an apology; for on its reception, he was in the vigor and wisdom of manhood; with his mind at its strength, and with a judgment at its full size. But if the log cabin and the poverty story is true, that estate is in some way disposed of. But that is

not all. General Harrison has held profitable offices from his boyhood. With but little intermission to this day, his hand has been in the public Treasury. Yes, sir, almost without interregnum, through a life as long as the Divine promise—for I believe he is now on the verge of the horizon of three score and ten.—and at this moment holds an office worth, I think, clear and clean of all expenses, five thousand dollars per annum. I think I may venture to say General Harrison has received from public Treasuries more than one hundred thousand dollars. He has drawn more from the public Treasury than a six-horse team can haul, in hard dollars, over the Alleghany mountains, on the national road; and yet his political partisans claim for him the Presidency because he is poor and needy. What has become of this last vast estate? Can his friends answer?

Why, sir, so far from General Harrison being unfortunate, he has been one of fortune's choicest and most cherished children. Now, sir, permit me to ask, if General Harrison's poverty gives him a claim upon the American people either for political patronage, or even more than common sympathy; certainly not, unless it can be shown clearly that he has been reduced to poverty by misfortunes and calamities beyond his control. While it is a settled principle, honorable to the American character, that the virtuous and qualified *poor* man is preferred to the virtuous and qualified *rich* man for office, let us inquire whether, when poverty is the result of extravagance, profligacy, indolence, a weak mind, a bad-directed judgment or mismanagement, it does not constitute a disqualification to hold a responsible station of an official character. Permit me to ask, if the man who has not had the capacity to secure a competency for the evening of his life out of such vast resources, can safely be trusted with the administration of this Government? I ask the question in the spirit of candor and truth, and it becomes every American to ask the same question. Is the man who has not the ability to control and manage his own small and circumscribed domestic concerns, the suitable man in whose hand to place the destinies of this nation—the management of this widespread and complicated Federal Union, whose harmony and whose duration—whose prosperity at home, and whose character abroad, depend upon its judicious laws, their best direction, and able and faithful execution? A patriotic and intelligent people will answer this question.

But, sir, I will now come to the rescue of General Harrison, and relieve him from the incapacity which his own friends have virtually and indirectly charged upon him. General Harrison is not a poor man; he does not live in a log cabin; nor does he toil in sweat and dust for his living. He is a rich man; he lives in a magnificent frame house, and is surrounded with a princely estate, of as good land as ever the Nile inundated, and as handsomely and advantageously located as any past which the majestic floods of the Ohio or Mississippi roll, from their sources to the Gulf of Mexico. So, sir, all this story about the log cabin is a falsehood. It is a mean fraud, attempted to be practised upon the credulity and sympathies of the American people, for the base, demagogical

purposes of political deception. General Harrison is neither to be cherished nor repudiated by the log cabin fiction: the whole is a hoax, attempted to be played off for political effect, and worthy of a party who have a contempt for the understanding and intelligence of what *they* call the "*common people*." Such attempts never fail to meet the scorn and derision of an honest and intelligent community, when and wherever made.

But indulge me while I attempt to expose another inconsistency involved in the log cabin hoax. Who were the active agents by which Gen. Harrison was presented as a candidate for the Presidency? The humble inmates of log cabins, think you, sir? No. The conventions by which Gen. Harrison's nomination was brought forth, in nine individual instances out of ten, were composed of any thing but the laboring man of the log cabin. They were composed of, and controlled by, those who have neither attachments nor feelings for the log cabin class of community, further than to subserve their own purposes, further than to make them subservient to the establishment of a system of policy by which they may be made hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Federal aristocracy of this country. I am not in possession of the names of the individuals composing the different State Federal conventions, nor of the names of the delegates composing the National Federal Convention held at Harrisburg; consequently I can say nothing of their professions and occupations, farther than relates to my own State. I hold in my hand a newspaper containing the report and proceedings of the convention held in Ohio, and containing the names of those who composed that convention. I have extracted a table from that report, which shows the number of bank officers, bank directors, and bank stockholders, office holders, lawyers, and doctors, merchants, clerks, speculators, &c. Here it is. It tells a poor story for the log cabin and laboring interests of this country. I am told by members here that this table will serve to illustrate the character of other State conventions, as well as the composition of the Harrisburg convention. But here is the table; read for yourself. Here are the names, facts, and figures. They expose the miserable attempt to palm General Harrison upon the people as "*the log cabin and the poor man's candidate*." Shame! where is thy blush? Truth and candor, where are thy advocates? Justice and honor, have ye been dethroned; and have moral depravity and debased political ambition, usurped your seats? But here is the table:

Principal composition of the Ohio Federal-Whig Abolition Convention.

COUNTIES.	Bank officers, directors, &c.	Office holders.	Lawyers and Doctors.	Merchants, clerks, & speculators.
Ashtabula,	1	2	1	6
Adams,		7	3	22
Butler,	14	10	12	1
Brown,		6	5	
Belmont,	7	6		
Crawford,	3	6		
Glermont,	1	3	2	5
Carroll,		2		
Champaign,	12	44	11	17
Cuyahoga,	23	41	27	54

Dark,		31	8	18
Franklin,	170	83	30	260
Fayette,	8	13	7	9
Fairfield,*		21		
Geauga,	8	7	2	2
Greene,	35	15	18	47
Harrison,	7	7	10	7
Huron,	14	22	5	31
Highland,		17	18	39
Jackson,	2	8		
Jefferson,	4			3
Logan,		22	8	10
Lorain,		30	6	
Licking,	11	15	17	74
Lucas,		11	5	5
Morgan,		10	5	13
Mercer,		19	3	5
Madison,	46	29	14	14
Muskingum,	41	67	26	78
Miami,	6	7	4	13
Preble,		17	16	19
Portage,	2	5	3	5
Pike,	11	7	3	23
Pickaway,	49	32	25	61
Ross,	21	15	19	84
Stark,	8	8	3	24
Sandusky,		3	3	11
Scioto,	10	28	7	42
Warren,		25	19	10
Wayne,	9	10	7	9
Washington,	19	28	4	27
Totals,	542	733	346	1048

Just look, sir! five hundred and forty-two bank officers, directors, &c. seven hundred and thirty-three office holders, three hundred and forty-six lawyers and doctors, and one thousand and forty-eight merchants, clerks, and speculators, in one State convention, in all twenty-six hundred and sixty-nine, representing the interests of the poor man! and the laboring community, and presenting General Harrison as the log cabin candidate! Sir, if I could speak to every laborer in this land, I would say to him, "*beware of wolves in sheep's clothing.*" These men will caress and flatter you until your suffrage is cast, and then they will order you to stand back "*like a poor man at a dance*" I would say look out when merchants, lawyers, doctors, bankers, speculators, and Shylocks, assume the guardianship of your interests and your liberties. All the flattering caresses that the laborer or the poor man will receive from such a party, will result from the same motive that induced the fox to praise the music of the crow, which was to obtain the flesh which she would let drop in the act of singing.

I assert that the supporters of General Harrison are not the friends of the poor and laboring classes of the community, and those who live in log cabins. On the contrary, they are those who seek the establishment and confirmation of a system of policy whose natural tendency is to make the "*rich richer and the poor poorer.*"

From such a guardianship save the Democracy, is my prayer. Under the guardianship of such men, hard cider and log cabins would be the lot of the poor man through all time. Sir, I have more than once said that a contempt for the intelligence of the people is a fundamental principle with the Federal party. I hold in my hand two communications, which will sustain me in the assertion. I ask that the Clerk may read them.

* Unable to obtain full returns from Fairfield—the office holders alone.

The Clerk read:

"From the Oswego Palladium.

"GENERAL HARRISON.

"We call public attention to the following most extraordinary reply, made by General Harrison's committee at Cincinnati, to a letter addressed to him by the Union Association of this village. We are obliged to a member of the Association for a copy of the letter addressed by it to General Harrison, and a copy of the letter of the committee, in reply thereto. We assure the public the correspondence is genuine.

"OSWEGO, January 31, 1840.

"To the Hon. WILLIAM H. HARRISON:

"DEAR SIR: In accordance with a resolution of the Union Association of Oswego, I am instructed to propose three questions to you in relation to subjects that a large portion of this section of the country feel a deep interest in: The first is—

"Are you in favor of receiving and referring petitions for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

"Secondly—are you in favor of a United States Bank, or some institution similar to that for the safekeeping and distributing of the public moneys, and for giving a uniform currency throughout the United States?

"And lastly—Would you favor the passage of a general bankrupt law by Congress, so that its operations might be equal in all the States of the Union.

"I have only to say, sir, that the above inquiries are made in accordance with the unanimous wishes of this association, the members of which, I am instructed to say, entertain the highest regard for your past services, and hope, should you be elected to the high office to which you are nominated, that nothing may occur to lessen you in the estimation of a great and free people.

"I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

"MILES HOTCHKISS,

"Corresponding Secretary."

"CINCINNATI, Feb. 29, 1840.

"OSWEGO UNION ASSOCIATION:

"GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 31st ult. addressed to Gen. Harrison, has been placed in our possession with a view to early attention. This is unavoidable in consequence of the very numerous letters daily received by the General, and to which his reply in person is rendered absolutely impracticable. As from his confidential committee, you will look upon this response, and if the policy observed by the committee should not meet with your approbation, you will attribute the error rather to ourselves and his immediate advisers, than General Harrison. That policy is, that the General make no further declaration of his principles for the public eye whilst occupying his present position. Such course has been adopted, not for purposes of concealment, nor to avoid all proper responsibility; but under the impression that the General's views, in regard to all the important and exciting questions of the day, have heretofore been given to the public, fully and explicitly; and that those views, whether connected with constitutional or other questions of very great interest, have undergone no change. The committee are strengthened in regard to the propriety of this policy; that no new issue be made to the public, from the consideration that the National convention deemed it impolitic at the then crisis to publish any general declaration of the views of the great Opposition party, and certainly the policy at the present remains unaltered. In the mean time, we cannot help expressing the hope that our friends every where will receive the nomination of General Harrison with something akin to generous confidence. When we reflect upon the distinguished intelligence of the nominating convention—how ably all interests were represented in that body; we certainly have a high guarantee, that, should General Harrison be the successful candidate for the Presidency, that office will be happily and constitutionally administered, and under the guidance of the same principles which directed our Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. Believing you will concur with us in the propriety of the policy adopted, we have pleasure in subscribing ourselves,

Your friends,

DAVID GWYNNE,

J. C. WRIGHT,

O. M. SPENCER.

H. E. SPENCER, Cor. Secretary.

[Mr. DUNCAN was proceeding, when Mr. MASON of Ohio interrupted him, and asked to explain. Mr. D. gave way. Mr. M. said that he had seen a communication in a Buffalo paper denying the genuineness of these communications, (just read,) and that he (Mr. M.) felt himself at liberty to pronounce the whole a forgery.]

Mr. DUNCAN resumed, and responded that he presumed his colleague [Mr. MASON] knew nothing

about the matter; and that he (Mr. D.) felt himself at liberty to pronounce it *no* forgery, and that the whole correspondence is genuine, and precisely as represented on the paper which was just read; and this he was authorized to say, not only from the presumption contained on the face of the paper itself, but from other information upon which he could rely. Sir, it is genuine; and what are the impressions this correspondence must make on the mind of every man who may read them? They are twofold. First, they convey the idea most forcibly, that, owing to physical and mental imbecility, the party have been compelled to assign political keepers to General Harrison; and the necessity of this measure, with those unacquainted with General Harrison, will be forced upon the mind, when it is known that he is now in or near the seventieth year of his age; a period of life when the heart beats slow, the blood flows sluggishly, the limbs become palsied, the watery eye grows dim, the voice trembles, the muscles wither, the "pantaloons become slippery," the memory takes wing, the empire of judgment totters, and the mind sinks in human frailty.

The appointment of the committee must give rise to a supposed necessity, and that necessity will find its reason in the natural frailties of three score and ten. It is not for me to rescue or relieve General Harrison from the difficulties and imputation with which his friends embarrass him. It is for his friends to explain away these imputations. But, second: the answer of the committee will not fail to make the impression, either that General Harrison requires political conscience-keepers—because with him the Federal principles of these times would not be safe—or that he and his party have no principles—or that their principles are so obnoxious to public sentiment, that it is dangerous to disclose them. I think the latter proposition is the fact. I have looked in vain for a demonstration of modern Whig principles from their conventions. I can see none. There have been none; nor will there be any. The object of a committee is to put their principles under a bushel. Such is the secret mandate of the State Convention wire-workers—such is the secret mandate of the wire-workers of the National Harrisburg Convention; and the lips of all subordinate committees are sealed. The above committee informs us, in so many words, that it is not the policy of General Harrison or his friends to make any exposition of political faith or principle until after the election. Like the subjects of benighted ignorance of the old world, it is enough that the priests know the will of God and the mysteries of his holy word. What a miserable cause it is that shuns the light; and how unpardonably ignorant the political leaders of a party must be of the intelligence of the nineteenth century—of the intelligence of this people—who think they can lead the freemen of this Government, blindfolded, to the subversion of their own principles, and the overthrow of their cherished institutions. And how basely corrupt must be the party who sneak and skulk from an open, candid, and manly exposition of their political principles. Sir, I say unhesitatingly that this corresponding committee has been appointed for the purposes of concealment and delusion. I unhesitatingly assert that this con-

cealment of principle arises from the fact that the Federalists dare not publicly disclose their principles to the American people. Concealment of principle, and false glare of military tinsel, are to be the means by which the people are to be gulled into the support of Federal men for office, and the establishment of Federal measures. But, sir, the effort will be about as fruitless as the coffin hand-bill mode of electioneering.

In relation to the conscience-keeping committee, I must say something. Of David Gwynne, I know nothing personally; I am unacquainted with him. I presume he is a clever fellow, and a respectable citizen, as all *my* constituents are. I take it for granted that he is opposed to the Administration and the Democratic party and principles, but not the less respectable for *that*. But of J. C. Wright and O. M. Spencer, I know something. I know them to be attorneys at law of high standing. I know them, as private citizens, to be of the most respectable order, and I will take this occasion to invite all who hear me, and all who may read me, to call on J. C. Wright and O. M. Spencer, should they have any business in the way of their profession. No two men in the State in which they live, will discharge their duty with more fidelity or more ability. But I know another thing. The Democracy will find themselves vexed if they make these gentlemen the conservatives of their political rights. The log cabin, and its wool hat inmates, will find themselves in the *vocative*, if their political rights are thrown upon the care and protection of these gentlemen. A Persian frog could not swim in all the hard cider they ever drank. These gentlemen may have seen a log cabin in their travels; so they may have seen a plough, but I doubt if either of them knows to which end of it a pair of horses should be hitched, or from which side of the land the furrow should be thrown.

These gentlemen are not Democrats. J. C. Wright will feel secretly flattered when he learns that I pronounce him a high-toned Federalist, from the first foundation of the world; and if his colleague is not of quite so blue a steep, it is because he has not been in the dye so long. Knowing, as I do, it was intended by the Federalists that the Democracy were to be gulled by this confidential conscience-keeping committee trick, I think it was a manifestation of diplomatic stupidity, that I have never seen excelled in political manoeuvring. It was cassiowary stupidity. I think it is the cassiowary bird, that rests the security of its body in the concealment of its head. The politics of this committee are too well known. If General Jackson, in his proudest and most popular days, were to have put himself in the keeping of these men, it would have blown him sky high with the Democracy, far and wide as *they* are known. If the friends of General Harrison had constituted

UNCLE JAKE FELTER,
OLD STEPHEN WOOD, and
JIM GOODLOE,

the Committee of Conscience Keepers to General Harrison, the Democracy would have understood something of the principles and rules of action; but as it is, they will stand off. Sir, before I attempt to expose an extraordinary display of Federal in-

consistency, I will ask your attention, while I expose an ordinary one. The Federal Whig national ticket is—

For President of the United States,
WM. HENRY HARRISON, of Ohio.

For Vice President,
JOHN TYLER, of Virginia.

Now, sir, I pronounce John Tyler a slaveholder, and violently opposed to modern Abolitionism, in all its arms. If I have done him injustice, I hope some one of his Virginia friends here will contradict me, and I will retract. None to contradict me? Then I am right.

How does Gen. Harrison stand on the question of Abolition? As I cannot answer you that question, and as G. H. Harrison will not answer, and as his conscience keeping committee are prevented by rule and the precedent of the convention, I will ask to read an extract from a letter, which will give us some light on the subject.

Here is the letter:

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: Being called suddenly home to attend my sick family, I have but a moment to answer a few of the calumnies which are in circulation concerning me.

"I am accused of being friendly to slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment, I have been the ardent friend of human liberty. At the age of eighteen I BECAME A MEMBER OF AN ABOLITION SOCIETY, established at Richmond; the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and procure their freedom by every legal means. My venerable friend, Judge Gatch, of Clermont county, was also a member of this society, and has lately given me a certificate that I was one. The obligations which I then came under, I have faithfully performed."

"WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

So much for the letter. Now for a small sentiment, which is a part of a speech delivered by Gen. Harrison on a public occasion. Here it is:

"Should I be asked if there is no way by which the General Government can aid the cause of emancipation, I answer, that it has long been an object near my heart, to see the whole of its surplus revenue appropriated to that object."

This is the sentiment. It is a small sentiment, but big with meaning; and the very attempt to carry it into practical operation would drench your streets in blood, lay waste in wreck and ruin this land, and sink this Union. Still, sir, I cannot say that Gen. Harrison is an Abolitionist. He may have qualified these sentiments so as to make them unexceptionable, but this is for him, or his political conscience-keepers, to show. But, sir, what I want to call your attention to, is the truth of an assertion I once made on this floor, which was, that all the contending Federal factions of this Union will be drummed up and drilled, ranked and sized, faced to the right, and marched to the polls, to cast their suffrage in support of the Federal Whig National Harrisburg convention ticket. General Harrison will be sustained, Abolitionist or no Abolitionist, by all the Abolitionists, as well as by the Federal North and South anti-Abolitionists. John Tyler, a slave holder and a slave owner, will receive the entire Abolition and Federal Whig vote North and South.

It will be remembered that, in 1832, Henry Clay was a candidate for the Presidency on the Federal side. I believe, and such was universally the belief, that he was a Mason of the highest order; and that he stood upon the tip-top round of the masonic ladder. This will not be denied.

Darius Lyman, who was an Antimason, was taken up and presented to the people of Ohio as

a candidate for the gubernatorial chair, by an Antimasonic convention. This was at a time when that miserable and contemptible demagogical hobby, Antimasonry, was at its zenith. Antimasons then were as the Abolitionists are now—anti-Democrats; but, strange to say, the Federal Masons to a man sustained Mr. Lyman for Governor, and in turn, and by way of reciprocity, the Antimasons to a man sustained Mr. Clay for the Presidency. Such is the frailty of man when beset by political ambition and the love of power; the solemnity of an oath, peace of conscience, and the sacred ties of religion, are alike their victims of sacrifice. And I now predict, with more confidence than Daniel predicted the destruction of Babylon, that all the factions opposed to the cause of Democracy, all the princes of factions, the Governors and captains, the judges, the counselors, the treasurers, and the sheriffs of factions, will be gathered together at Ura to worship Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, and the Jew will desert his God and the religion of Israel, and the Pagan will desert his idol, and abandon the sacred mysteries of his temple, and will fall prostrate before the image at the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, timbrel, jew-harp, banjo, and tambarine. Yes, sir, at the nod of Federalism, all other isms must fall prostrate. But it will not all do. Babylon must sink in wickedness, pollution, and idolatry. In the night of feasting and debauchery, the Cyrus of Democracy will destroy it.

Yes, sir, Abolition Whigery of the North will be. Whig Abolition of the South, both full blooded twins of blue light Federalism, whether in the North or in the South; and the man must be a wilful liar or a stupid fool, who will attempt to affix either to the support of this Administration, or identify either of them with the Democratic party or the Democratic principles. In support of what I say, permit me to read two small extracts from the Philanthropist of March 31st, 1840. The Philanthropist is a leading, and one of the most thoroughgoing Abolition papers of the day. But here are the extracts. I read from a long article headed "*the present Administration:*"

"The present Administration, it is generally conceded, is essentially Southern in its principles and policy; it is distinguished by its devotion to the foreign and domestic interests of slavery, perhaps more than by any other feature. The protection of slave labor seems to be its controlling principle. True, the freemen of the North and West number more than twice as many as those of the South, but they are supposed to have no peculiar interests, or the protection of free labor is a minor consideration. The aristocrats of the South give law to the Government, and Mr. Van Buren is their vassal Executive.

"Another view of the subject we would present. Should the Van Buren party, after having rested its hopes of success to a great extent on its anti-Abolition warfare, be defeated, it would be the best thing that could happen for them, as well as the free States. From that moment the party would find it convenient to cut loose from the South. The conviction would arise that it had been leaning on a broken reed, and that there was a power at home which it was of more consequence to conciliate than the slaveholding interest. It is the vocation of Abolitionists to emancipate parties from thralldom to this interest. This they can do by creating such a mass of anti-slavery sentiment in the free States, and so directing it that it shall at once crush the politician who may venture in a single particular to pander to the wishes of the slaveholder."

Comment on these extracts is unnecessary; but I cannot leave them without notice.

So far as the Administration and the Democracy of the free States are charged with undue Southern

influence and vassalage, it is a reckless falsehood and a broad slander, worthy of a demagogue and a LIAR steeped in moral depravity and political corruption.

The Administration and the Democracy of the North are as much devoted to the cause of philanthropy, universal emancipation, and the happiness of the human family, as the modern Abolition Whig party. But the Administration and the Democracy of the free States are devoted, too, to the perpetuity of this Union, the peace and order of society, the preservation of the Constitution, and the maintenance of the sovereignty and independence of the States, and the peaceful enjoyment of their domestic institutions, which were guaranteed to them at the formation of the Federal Government, and the guarantee of which security constituted a principal condition upon which the Federal Union was formed.

Sir, we have had some fine disquisitions in the President making speeches here, on the transcendent military services of the Federal candidate for the Presidency.

It is not my purpose, for one moment, to throw the slightest shade over any fame that General Harrison may have acquired in the last war; but it must astound every national and consistent man in the Union, that the Federal Whigs should select a military man as a candidate for the Presidency. Sir, indulge me a short time, while I show some of the inconsistency of this self-styled consistent and decency party.

What did the Federal party say of the last war, and of military men? Hear them. I read from the Olive Branch:

"Let no man, who wishes to continue the war by active means, by vote or lending money, *have to prostrate himself at the altar on the fast day, for they are actually as much partakers in the war as the soldier who thrusts the bayonet, and the judgment of God will await them.*"

"Will Federalists subscribe to the loan, (Government loan); will they lend money to our national rulers? It is impossible," &c.

"Any Federalist who lends money to the Government, must go and shake hands with James Madison, and claim fellowship with Felix Grundy. Let him no more call himself a Federalist and friend to his country. He will be called by others infamous!!!"

"It is very grateful to find that the universal sentiment is, that any man who lends his money to the Government at the present time, will forfeit all claim to common honesty and common courtesy among all true friends to the country."—*Boston Gazette.*

"We have only room this evening to say that we trust no true friend to his country will be found among the subscribers to the Gallatin loan."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

"No peace will ever be made till the people say there shall be no war. If the rich now continue to furnish money, war will continue till the mountains are wet with blood, till every field in America is white with the bones of the people."—*Discourse by Elijah Parrish, D. D.*

Sir, I could read an hour from this collection of Federal sayings and doctrines, but I will not detain the committee; but, be it remembered, that at the time of these denunciations, the clouds of war hung the heaviest, the work of plunder, burning, and death, beset our whole seaboard, and our frontier was exposed to the savage rifle, the scalping knife and tomahawk, and the torch of the Indian—the Government was oppressed and borne down with pecuniary embarrassments—every institution of the Government was sinking, and every prospect withering, from the same cause. but what do we find now, sir? The same Federal party sustaining a military man for the first office

in their gift; for the Presidency of the United States; and predicating his claims upon his military services in that very war which they so violently denounced, and upon which they invoked, from the sacred altar, the vengeance of God. But that was a long time ago. Well, what did the Federalists say in 1824, when the Democracy sustained General Jackson for the Presidency? Why, sir, it will be remembered by every person who hears me, that every political journal in the country teemed with the most solemn admonitions against placing the Government in the hands of a military chieftain; we were referred to the subversion and downfall of every Republic which had gone before us by military despotism. Such warnings were in the mouth of every Federalist in the land at that time, and were brought to bear against the election of General Jackson, with all the force they could be urged through every possible medium.

Hear Mr Clay, in his address to the people of the Congressional district composed of the counties of Fayette, Woodford, and Clark, in Kentucky:

"In his [General Jackson's] election to this office, too, I thought I perceived the establishment of a fearful precedent, and I am mistaken in all the warnings of instructive history, if I erred in my judgment. Undoubtedly there are other and many dangers to public liberty, besides that which proceeds from *military idolatry*; but I have yet to acquire the knowledge of it, if there be one more perilous or more frequent."

[*National Intelligencer, March 31, 1825.*]

To this, all the Federalists said, amen.

But here is more. Mr. Clay, in his letter to Judge Brooke, dated Washington, January 28, 1825, says:

"As a friend of liberty, and to the permanence of our institutions, I cannot consent, in this early stage of their existence, by contributing to the election of a military chieftain, to give the strongest guarantee that this Republic will march in the fatal road which has conducted every other Republic to ruin."

[*National Intelligencer, February 12, 1825.*]

This was strong language, and fearful and solemn admonition. It was thought, however, by some, that this warning was urged with more outward than inward zeal, to secure him against the indignation of the Republican party and the suspicions of the Federal party, in his Somerset from the former to the latter. But he continued his warnings in deep sighs of prophecy and Jeremiah lamentations. Hear what he says in 1829, at a public dinner:

"I deprecated it (Gen. Jackson's election) still more, because his elevation I believed would be the result, exclusively, of admiration and gratitude for military service, without regard to indispensable civil qualifications. I can neither retract or modify or alter any opinion which on these subjects I have at any time heretofore expressed.

"I beheld in his election an awful foreboding of the fate which at some future day (I pray God that if it ever arrive, it may be some far distant day) was to befall this infant Republic. All past history had impressed on his mind this solemn apprehension. Nor is it effaced or weakened by contemporaneous events passing upon our own favored continent.

"It is remarkable that at this epoch, at the head of nine independent Governments, established in both Americas, military officers have been placed, or have placed themselves. Gen. Loyalla has by military force subverted the Republic of La Plata; Gen. Santa Cruz is the Chief Magistrate of Bolivia; Col. Pinto of Chili; Gen. La Mar of Peru; and Gen. Bolivar of Colombia; Central America rent in pieces and bleeding at every pore from wounds inflicted by contending military factions, is under the alternate sway of their chiefs.

"In the Government of our nearest neighbor, an election conducted according to all the requirements of their Constitution had terminated with a majority of the States in favor of Pedeza, the civil candidate. An insurrection was raised in behalf of his military rival. The cry, not exactly of bargain, but of corruption, was sounded; the election was annulled, and a reform effected, by proclaiming General Guerrero, having only a minority of the States, duly elected President.

"The thunders from the surrounding forts, and the acclamations from the assembled multitudes, on the fourth, (March,) told us what General was at the head of our affairs."

[*Nat. Intelligencer*, March 9, 1829.

I have one more extract to read, which is pertinent: and I hope it will be remembered by all who hear me, and all who may read me, while I am reading extracts from Mr. Clay's speeches, that I am not reading the sentiments of a single individual, but the sentiments of the whole Federal tribe, as expressed through every Federal sheet in the land, by every Federal orator, and every Federal babbling, noisy politician, from the largest to the smallest, and in some instances from the pulpit and the sacred desk.

Now for the last extract:

"In 1838, not two years since, Mr. Clay said in the United States Senate, he (Mr. C.) had also been charged as having left his country and her councils with execrations, going home with restlessness and disgust, and as returning back to annoy the country. What was the ground of 'his charge?' Mr. C. had returned under urgent necessities—his office had been unsolicited, and he had resolved to do his duty in these struggles and these times, and he had denounced a military aspirant, and had denounced him in language which he was proud to have used, when he had exclaimed, 'send us war, pestilence, and famine, rather than curse us with military rule;' and if he could then have foreseen that this execrable measure (the Sub-Treasury bill) would have been introduced by the influence which he then deprecated, he would then have denounced it as he did now, as not at all preferable to war, pestilence and famine, and as not inferior to any one of them in its malign effects on the welfare and prosperity of the country."—*Reported in the National Intelligencer*, June 25th, 1838.

What a man this Mr. Clay is! From 1825 up to 1838, his solemn admonitions to man, and his sincere prayers to God, were, that our country had better be blighted and withered in famine, desolated with pestilence, and drenched in blood, than that a military man (General Jackson) should be President, and in 1838 said, virtually, that rather than this Government should collect, keep safe, and disburse its own revenue, in the management of its own fiscal operations, or rather than the banks should cease to rule the Government, the country, and the people, he preferred that the country should be desolated with war, pestilence, or famine. Is this the raving of madness, or the madness of raving?

Mr. Chairman, if you can find, in the whole history of human depravity, sentiment's involving, in the abstract, more theoretical wickedness, reckless ambition, and moral debasement, than these sentiments do, you will have to read that history over once more than I have. But base as they were, benighted in wickedness as the brain must have been that conceived them, corrupt as the heart was that cherished them, and poisoned as the tongue and lips were that gave them birth, the whole Federal pack yelled Amen to them. But what do you think now, sir? In the face of all these solemn warnings and impressive admonitions, and in the face of all these appeals to heaven to visit this land with all the other combined calamities, either of the anger of God or the folly of man, rather than this people should be ruled executively by a military man, that same Federal party, with that same Henry Clay at their head, are now moving heaven and earth to place the Executive Government in the hands of a military man!! Monstrous! and that, too, on the open and professed ground of transcendent military services! for no other claims or pretensions are urged. I will leave comment

on such conduct to those who may read me with these simple inquiries. At the time of which I am speaking, were you sincere when you were warning the Democracy, in long groans, deep sighs, and with tears in your eyes, of the fatal consequences that would result from placing the Executive Department of this Government in the hands of a military captain? If you were sincere, you are now practising a base fraud upon the American people, and voluntarily and wilfully endangering the civil and political institutions of your country by attempting to give a military captain the control of the Government.

But if you are now sincere in pushing the claims of General Harrison, on the ground of gratitude for his military services, and you believe the Government will be safe in the hands of a military chieftain, you were *then* practising a base fraud upon the American people, and your whole effort to prevent the election of General Jackson was the result of deception, fraud, and demagogism. How will you reconcile your conflicting conduct with an intelligent, honest, patriotic, and candid people? Will you attempt an explanation of your conduct, or will you rest your demagogisms, as you always have done, on what you believe to be the thoughtless stupidity and ignorance of what you call the "common people?"

But I will proceed to examine what the military claims of General Harrison are; and let me remind you that it is not my purpose to throw the slightest shade over the military reputation of General Harrison, or pluck a leaf from the wreath which his successes in the field may have secured to him. But when General Harrison's *military* services are presented as claims upon the suffrages of the American people, for the highest *civil* office in their gift, it becomes the right and the duty of every citizen to examine and inquire into the character, quality, and extent of those services now set up as a claim. It is now, in the Federal sheets, and by the party orators, proclaimed with emphasis, and published in capitals, that General Harrison's military career and military services never were assailed until after he was presented as a candidate for President. Well, sir, this is very creditable to him, and a proud boast for him and his party if true; but how frail are all human calculations and boasts! Just indulge me while I blow up this political air castle; this paper balloon, inflated with wordy gas, on which General Harrison is to ride to the Presidency.

Here, sir, is an extract from the journals of the Senate of the United States, as reported in Niles's Register:

"The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes. After some discussion, Mr. Lacoek moved to amend the resolution, by striking therefrom Major General Harrison. The motion was determined in the affirmative, by the following vote:

"Yeas—Messrs. Gillard, Gore, Hunter, King, Lacoek, Mason, Roberts, Thompson, Jackson, Tait, Turner, and Varnum—12.

"Nays—Messrs. Barber, Barry, Condit, Horsey, Macon, Morrow, Ruggles, Talbot, Wells, and Williams—10.

Whether the Senate was right or wrong in this signal, lasting and withering rebuke of General Harrison, it does not affect the windy boast that "General Harrison's military character never was assailed until he was presented as a candidate

for President. It will be seen that this vote of the Senate was had in the fore part of 1816, just at the close of the war, when the services of the brave were fresh in the grateful recollection of every friend to his country. The description of successful battles dwelt in delight upon the lips of every patriot, and the songs in praise of those who distinguished themselves were echoed from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, from one end of the continent to the other. It will be remembered, too, that no individual or association of individuals could be supposed to be better acquainted with the military character and merits of those who served in the last war, than were the Senators of the United States. The Senate is the highest, most responsible, and most honorable tribunal in the American Government. Its members are composed of those who are selected for their wisdom, their integrity, and their patriotism. It is the province and the duty of the United States Senate to award honor and thanks to whom honor and thanks are due, but this was the honor and thanks which were meted to General Harrison, at a time when the sheet of the war history had hardly dried, and when the echo of the song of praise had not died on the distant hills. I believe the Senate done wrong in withholding the vote of thanks; and the medal proposed in the resolution, and so the Senate subsequently thought; for a vote of thanks and the medal were awarded. "But deny me honor, rather than praise me faintly," Such was the praise the Senate bestowed on General Harrison.

So much for the Senate journal. I will now ask the Clerk to read the public letter of Joseph Duncan, ex-Governor of Illinois; a staunch modern Whig, and a violent opposer of the present Administration. I like to convict the Whigs with evidence from their own mouths; but here is the letter.

The Clerk read:

Letter of General Duncan, Governor of Illinois.

"WASHINGTON CITY, March 25, 1833.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 20th has been received, and I most cheerfully comply with your request, in giving such an account of the transactions at Sandusky, as my memory, at this period, and my time, will enable me to do.

"About the 20th of July, 1813, General Harrison, then at Lower Sandusky, hearing that the British army had crossed Lake Erie to Fort Meigs, being about five thousand strong, immediately changed his headquarters to Seneca, seven or eight miles up the Sandusky river, where he assembled his forces, then on the march from the interior, leaving Major Croghan, with about 150 men, to defend Fort Stephenson, with an understanding at the time, that the fort, then in a weak and wretched condition, was to be abandoned, should the enemy advance with artillery, but if not, to be defended to the last extremity.

"Harrison, with his force, then small, had scarcely left us, before Croghan commenced putting the fort (which was only a stockading of small round logs, and a few log store houses) in a proper state of defence, in which he evinced the most admirable judgment and the most untiring perseverance.

"During the last ten or twelve days that intervened between the time that Gen. Harrison left us and the appearance of the enemy, a ditch was dug, four feet deep and six feet wide, entirely round the fort, outside of the stockading, the ground for 200 yards round the fort was cleared of timber and brush, and many other preparations made for the enemy.

"About this time Gen. Harrison received information that the enemy had raised the siege at Fort Meigs, and had started in the direction of Sandusky and Camp Seneca. On receiving this intelligence he determined to retreat from his position, and immediately sent an express to Fort Stephenson, which arrived about sunrise, ordering Maj. Croghan to burn the fort, with all the munitions and stores, and *retreat without delay* to headquarters, giving, also, some precautionary instructions about the route, &c.

"On receiving this order, Croghan instantly placed it in the hands of the officers, who were all present, and required them to

consider it and express an opinion of the propriety of obeying or disobeying it. The board was formed, and on putting the question, beginning, as usual, with the youngest officer, it was ascertained that a majority of us *were for disobeying* the order. Croghan returned to the room, and being informed of our directions, said, "*I am glad of it; I HAD RESOLVED TO DISOBEY AT ALL HAZARDS,*" and immediately despatched an express to Gen. Harrison, giving him that information. Immediately on the arrival of this express Gen. Harrison despatched Lt. Col. Ball, with his squadron of dragoons, with orders to *arrest Croghan*, and bring him to headquarters, (which was done,) and sent another officer to take command. By this time, in consequence of his not arriving agreeably to his expectations and orders, the General abandoned all idea of a retreat, although his munitions and stores were piled up ready to be set on fire as soon as Croghan should reach Seneca; and *it is not to be doubted* that if Croghan had arrived according to orders General Harrison would have retreated instantly, leaving the whole frontier, our fleet at Erie, and the store at Cleveland—the destruction of which was the object of the invasion and movements down the lake—at the mercy of the enemy!!

"After being detained one night, Croghan returned to Sandusky, and was reinstated in his command; an occasion which gave an indescribable joy to the officers and soldiers in the fort, and which only could be equalled, in intensity of feeling, by the chagrin and mortification felt at his arrest. Especially was the event pleasing to those officers who had sustained him in disobeying the order, resolved as they were, when he was arrested, to share his fate, be it good or evil.

"Soon after his return, the enemy so long expected, made his appearance, and demanded a surrender. Croghan answered, by directing Ensign Shipp to assure General Proctor that it would be blown to ——— first.

"I need hardly say, after what has been related, that their appearance, relieving us from our long suspense, was hailed with seeming joy by the Major, and most, if not all, of his command.

"The excitement produced by what had occurred, and his return just in time to meet the enemy, inspired his command with an enthusiasm rarely, if ever, surpassed, and which alone renders man invincible.

"The fort was forthwith besieged, cannonaded, and bombarded, from the gunboats and the batteries on land, for nearly four hours, without cessation; during all which time, every officer and soldier appeared to be animated by the cool and manly bearing of the commander.

"I well remember his expression at the first sound of the bugle, given by the enemy as the signal for the charging upon the works. We were sitting together; he sprang upon his feet, saying, 'Duncan, every man to his post, for in twenty minutes they will attempt to take us by storm.' Recollect, when you hear my voice crying relief, come to me with all the men that can be spared from your part of the line." He instantly passed up the line, repeating to every officer, and had scarcely got the men in place before the whole British army, divided into three columns, marched upon the fort, and made a desperate assault, continuing it for near an hour, when they were repulsed with a loss of killed and wounded, estimated at that time to be near double the number in the fort, and is stated by English writers to be about ninety.

"During the engagement, I saw Croghan often, and witnessed with delight his intrepid and gallant conduct, which, I firmly believe, never has been surpassed at any time, on any occasion.

"In the heat of the action, I frequently heard him exclaim, 'huzza, my brave fellows, we are hewing them to pieces; five minutes more, and we'll blow them to —. By H—n, every officer and soldier has immortalized himself,' &c. And throughout the whole affair, he evinced the greatest solicitude for the safety of every one but himself.

"The sagacity displayed in arranging the cannon, so as to open a mask embrasure to rake the enemy in the ditch, at a point evidently selected by them for the breach—in placing the logs on pins near the top of the picket, which could be tilted off by one man, and from twenty to thirty feet long, of heavy timber, swept every thing before them—his activity in piling bags of sand against the pickets wherever the enemy attempted to make a breach with their cannon, by which means each point of attack grew stronger from the moment it was assailed, are worthy of any general at any age.

"You are right, sir, in my judgment, in saying that the Government has not done justice to Col. Croghan for his conduct in that affair, *which is without a parallel in the military annals of our country.*

"As to myself, having acted a very subordinate part, I never did, nor do I now, set up any claims for distinction. To know that I did my duty to my country, though not hardened into manhood, was then, and is now, enough for me. But of him feel no hesitancy in saying injustice has been done to him in being overlooked by the Government, and the erroneous statements of historians.

"M'Affee, the historian of the late war, and Dawson, the biographer of Gen. Harrison, have studiously kept out of view

that the object of the invasion was the destruction of our ships, under Com. Perry, at Presque Isle, and boats and stores at Cleveland—these were looked upon with solicitude by the British—were reconnoitered—and on one or two occasions were attempted to be destroyed by landing on board their fleet. They have also failed to account for the movement of the whole British forces down the lake, in the direction of Cleveland and Erie, before their defeat at Sandusky, which was attacked to satisfy their Indian allies, who demanded the scalps and plunder of the place. They have kept out of view the fact that Gen. Harrison had determined to retreat to the interior, after burning all the supplies which he had collected; that he ordered Major Croghan to abandon and burn Fort Stephenson; that his refusal to obey, and failure to arrive at headquarters, prevented this retreat and consequent destruction of our fleet, millions of public stores, and exposure of five hundred miles of frontier to the combined enemy!

"Both have stated that Gen. Harrison never doubted that Major Croghan would be able to repulse an enemy of near two thousand, and which they say he understood to be five thousand, with one hundred and thirty men, his effective force on the day of battle, one six-pounder with ammunition for only seven shots, and about forty rounds for the small arms; when the fact was notorious, that Gen. Harrison was heard to say during the siege, when the firing could be heard in his camp, speaking of Croghan, *"the blood be on his own head; I wash my hands of it!"* not doubting for a moment, nor did any one with him, that the garrison would be cut off.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUNCAN.

Col. PRESTON, Military Committee, Senate.


I now submit a protestation issued from "Grand Camp Ohio Militia, August 29, 1813." I will ask the Clerk to read this protestation, and I regret its length will prevent its introduction in my printed remarks; but its object and meaning will be understood by the resolutions with which it concludes. It is signed by a number of the officers, now belonging to both political parties.


The Clerk read as follows:

* * * Therefore,
"Resolved, That we place the most implicit confidence in his Excellency, Return J. Meigs, as commander-in-chief of the militia of this State, and that we view him as a wise and judicious Chief Magistrate."

"Resolved, That after the various requisitions and complicated demands from his Excellency, Major General Harrison, we highly approve of his Excellency, the Governor's, conduct on the occasion, and fully coincide with him in the propriety of leaving force sufficient to answer any emergency."

"Resolved, That we regret the backward state of the preparations was such as to exclude the troops called to the relief of Fort Meigs, as well those who returned as the proportion retained, from participating in the present campaign, for which they discovered so great an anxiety."


"Resolved, That the conduct of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, of the Northwestern Army, on this occasion, is shrouded in mystery, and to us, perfectly inexplicable."


"Resolved, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be signed by the general and field officers and commandants of independent corps, approving the same in their own and in behalf of their respective commands; and that a copy of the proceedings be delivered by the Secretary to his Excellency the Governor, and a copy to the printer at Franklinton, and each of the printers in Chillicothe, with a request that all the printers in the State would give publicity to the same; also that the same be signed by the president and attested by the Secretary."

JAMES MANARY,
 Brigadier General, President.

Attest:

EZRA OSBURN,
 Brigade Quartermaster, Secretary.

ROBERT LUCAS, Brig. Gen.
 JOHN McDONALD, Colonel.
 JAMES DENNY, Colonel.
 WILLIAM KEYS, Colonel.
 JOHN FERGISON, Colonel.
 ISAAC BONSER, Colonel.
 JAMES KILGORE, Major.
 JOHN WILLET, Major.
 ALLEN TRIMBLE, Major.
 N. BEASLY, Captain Com't.

JAMES WILSON, Major.
 PRESLEY MORRIS, Brig. Major.
 JOHN BOGGS, Major.
 WM. RUTLEDGE, Brig. Major.
 RICHARD HOCKER, Capt. Com.
 EDEN FENNIMORE, Brig. Q. M.
 WILLIAM KEY BOND,
 Judge Advocate."

When the name of William Key Bond was pronounced, Mr. D. demanded of his colleague [Mr. BOND] if he was that man.

[Mr. B. answered in the affirmative, and asked to explain.

Mr. D. gave way.

Mr. B. said, in substance, that the officers and troops at Grand Camp of Ohio Militia, were disappointed at some of General Harrison's movements. They were thought slow. They considered themselves neglected, and feared they were going to be disappointed in an opportunity to distinguish themselves in the campaign, which they had undertaken in the service of their country; and, without understanding the motives which governed the movements of the Commander-in-chief, he had drawn up the protestation and resolutions which had just been read, and submitted them to the officers of the camp, who considered and adopted them, without a dissenting voice. He (Mr. B.) had long thought the officers had done General Harrison injustice. Mr. B. said he was young (not over twenty-one) at that time. Had he had the advantage of years, he would have been more capable of appreciating the motives of General Harrison, and his course would have been different. He stated that he held a public communication over the signature of Allen Trimble, which he wished read. It was read, and consisted of an apology similar to that which Mr. B. had made as above.]

Mr. D. resumed. Mr. Chairman, my colleague says he was young and inexperienced when he drew up this protestation and resolutions, and signed them. I will ask him if any of the other officers, whose names are affixed, were older than he was.

Mr. B. answered, yes; nearly all older than himself—some thirty, some forty years of age, and perhaps some upward.

Mr. D. asked Mr. B. if he had ever before tendered to the public a recantation of his course in that matter.

Mr. B. answered in the negative.

Mr. D. What is the date of the communication signed Allen Trimble?

Mr. B. It is of the date of January, 1840.

Mr. D. said, these recantations have both been made since General Harrison was nominated for the Presidency. Had General Harrison not been nominated for the Presidency, they never would have been made. It is now upwards of twenty-seven years since this spread of infamy overclouded General Harrison; and never, in all that time, was this cloud attempted to be dispersed. Allen Trimble was the Governor of Ohio for four years, and my colleague has been a member of Congress for nearly six years. These names, of imposing influence, put afloat a public manifestation of the infamy and disgrace that has attached to General Harrison, and gave sanction to the sirocco breath of slander for twenty-seven years; and for that time has his reputation been withering under it, and, what is still more remark-

able, my colleague and the ex-Governor have all this time been the *political* friends of Gen. Harrison, and, with him, have labored at the Federal oar through all the surges and tempests of party strife. I say that the infamy charged upon General Harrison at Grand Camp Ohio Militia, and spread to the four winds through the public newspaper sheets, has dwelt with and abided upon his reputation for twenty-seven years, and if he had not been nominated for the Presidency, this infamy, without recantation or explanation, would have followed his reputation to the grave, and rested upon his memory for all time. Gentlemen, why did you not come out sooner with your recantations. I fear you are now too late. An intelligent community will charge you with injustice and ingratitude, or they will charge you with demagoguism and an attempt to practise a trick for political deception. Which horn of the dilemma do you prefer to hang upon?

I think I have shown how miserably peurile the vain and empty Whig boast that "Gen. Harrison's military character never was assailed until he was a candidate for President," appears before the omnipotence of truth, when it is remembered that the expose I have made is from Whig evidence. It is vainly and pompously boasted that General Harrison was in more battles during the last war than any commander in the service.

This is not true. General Harrison was not in a battle during the last war; and I defy his friends to point out one in which he was present, and acted in person. What battle was he in? Tippecanoe? That was no battle; it was a surprise by night, and a defeat of the American troops. Four or five hundred Indians attacked General Harrison's army, consisting of ten or fifteen hundred of as brave men as ever marched in defence of a country, in the night, when the General and his troops were sleeping in supposed security, and killed and wounded one hundred and eighty of Kentucky and Indiana's choicest sons; and retired at break of day, with *perhaps* the loss of forty or fifty killed and wounded. The fact that the Indians retired at day break does not warrant the charge of defeat upon them. The attack and retreat they made was according to their mode of warfare. In the surprise of Tippecanoe, General Harrison and his men fought bravely; and, under all the circumstances, so far as the surprise was concerned, did honor to the American arms and to American chivalry. But let no man so far disgrace the memory of those who fell, and the reputation of those who survived the battles of Monmouth, Bunker Hill, Lexington, Trenton, and many others of the Revolution, by calling that a battle and a victory, which was a surprise and a defeat. It is a perversion of terms, and if spoken in any other spirit than that of gratitude and national pride, in or out of this country, will bring ridicule and derision upon him who speaks it. I say that General Harrison and his troops fought bravely at the surprise of Tippecanoe, and I say so in pride and gratitude; so says a nation, in the same spirit.

But General Harrison has been censured for permitting the enemy to select his camp ground. He has been censured for permitting himself to

be deceived by the friendly pretensions of the enemy. He has been censured for not causing a breastwork to be raised as a security against surprise.

But above all, General Harrison has been censured for encamping his troops on a narrow piece of ground, so surrounded with a deep marsh as almost to cut off retreat in case of surprise. Skill to avoid ambuscades and defiles, and in the judicious selection of camp grounds, have always been considered among the best marks of a prudent and wise General.

The incautious manner in which Sempronius permitted Hannibal to lead him and the Roman troops into an ambuscade, by which they were defeated, and almost all cut off at the battle of Trebia, has ever been considered unwise and fatally imprudent, and has fixed to the memory of Sempronius the character of fiery zeal, rather than useful bravery. Many other fatal instances could be named of like imprudence.

These are matters, so far as they relate to the battle of Tippecanoe, I know nothing about. I was a boy at the time, and six or seven hundred miles from the scene of action. I have no practical knowledge of the matter; nor have I the advantages of the military skill, experience, and learning, of the two hundred and thirty-nine members who surround me, all of whom my colleague [Mr. CORWIN] informs us are colonels and generals; for I have never been a *fourth corporal*. I must leave the decision of the matter to those who were actors at that time, and to such experience as that of my colleague, [Mr. C.] who informs us that he is a colonel. But with all my inexperience, I will venture one opinion, and that is, if the Indians had commenced the work of death two hours sooner; or if they had had the Joshua who commanded the armies of Israel and Gibeon against the five kings of the Amorites, to have commanded the sun to stand still two hours, and thereby given them two hours more of darkness to have performed the work of death, General Harrison, and every man of his army, would have been cut off. Not a man, in all probability, would have been left to relate the fatal and bloody story. So much for the "*Battle of Tippecanoe*," of which General Harrison is sung the hero!

Where do we find Gen. Harrison next? In the battle of the river Raisin? No: he was not in that battle; but there were some circumstances in relation to Gen. Harrison, associated with that unfortunate battle and massacre, that I have heard talked of, which, if they existed, are not very favorable to the General; but as I have no practical knowledge of them, I will agree, if his friends will do the same, to say nothing about them, and by such an agreement Gen. Harrison will not be the loser. But I am told Gen. Harrison was in Fort Meigs when it was attacked; be it so: he was, and conducted himself well, and behaved bravely; but that was a siege and a defence: it was no battle. Was Gen. Harrison a participator in the gallant defence of Fort Stephenson? No. Governor Duncan's letter informs us that "he ordered Maj. Croghan to burn the post, with all the munitions and stores, and retreat, without delay, to headquar-

ters." Croghan refused to obey; on the contrary, continued his zealous and patriotic efforts to put the fort in a proper state of defence. The fort was attacked in the manner, and by the force, as described in the letter which you have heard read. The defence of Fort Stephenson was one of the most brilliant affairs recorded in American history; and earned its commander, and those who fought with him, never fading glory. That defence was the first which did true and unvarnished honor on the frontier to the American arms. It revived the hopes and lifted from despair the whole Northwest, and was the first effectual check the haughty and savage foe met. Major Croghan and his brave officers and men have met a reward in the affections and gratitude of a nation. Be it remembered that the defence of Fort Stephenson, and all the honor and glory that attended it was in direct violation of the express orders of General Harrison. If Major Croghan is entitled to the unmeasured gratitude of the American people, the song of praise to General Harrison will be weak.

What is the next battle in which we may look for General Harrison? The battle of the Thames? Yes, he was there; and of his conduct there I have no fault to find; nor would I name it, except in his praise, but for some communications now afloat, evidently started for the base, mean, and unhallowed purpose of crowning General Harrison with the laurels which Colonel Johnson reaped in blood on the plains of the Thames. Degraded indeed must that party be, when the crippled veteran must be robbed of his honors, and be permitted to sink in forgetfulness to the grave, with his body covered with wounds received on the field of battle in his country's cause, for the base purposes of party. The glorious battle of the Thames occupies one of the brightest and proudest pages of American history. Its history is not better known than the fact that Col. R. M. Johnson is its hero. If ingratitude could palsy the tongue, he would be made dumb who would deny him the name of hero and the conqueror of the Thames. The indignation of a proud and grateful nation will rest upon the wretch who will attempt to rob or steal the escutcheon dedicated by a nation's gratitude to Col. R. M. Johnson for his bravery, gallantry, and patriotism, in the battle of the Thames. Sir, in that battle he gained laurels which do him the highest honor in life and will adorn his memory in death, while there is a free American on whose lips his name can dwell. Who ever before heard Gen. Harrison called the Hero of the Thames? Why, the phrase, "*Col. Johnson, the Hero of the Thames*," is so identified with American pronunciation, that no tongue of the present generation can be taught to pronounce the name of Gen. Harrison, as a substitute for Col. Johnson, by prefixing it to "*Hero of the Thames*."

Sir, this base attempt at robbery of the honors of Col. Johnson necessarily compels me to ask your attention a few moments while I attempt a short description of the battle of the Thames, and the several parts that Gen. Harrison and Col. Johnson performed in it.

As it is not my purpose to give a history of the last war, nor of the march of the Northwestern ar-

my from Fort Malden to the river Thames, I will commence my description on the battle ground; and as it is the relative claims to honor of Gen. Harrison and Col. Johnson that are at issue, my description shall be principally with reference to them.

The enemy was overtaken by the American troops, on the river Thames, about a mile and a half below the Moravian towns. The British regulars, in number six or seven hundred, were stretched across a narrow piece of ground, with the river on their left, and a long deep narrow swamp on their right. The Indians were posted on the right of the British on the other side of the swamp, commencing at the edge of the swamp and extending to the right in the form of a half moon.

Colonel Johnson, with his mounted regiment, first overtook the enemy, and were in advance of the infantry some three or four miles. As soon as the enemy was overtaken, and his position known, General Harrison, who was with the infantry, was informed thereof. As soon as Colonel Johnson discovered the enemy, and his position, he formed his troops in charging columns, except one company of spies, which was dismounted, and stretched across between the river and the swamp in open order before the charging columns, and fronting the British line. At the moment this form of attack was executed, General Harrison arrived; and, upon consultation with Colonel Johnson, permitted him to charge the enemy, and returned himself to the infantry, which was about a mile at that time in the rear. When General Harrison left Colonel Johnson, it was supposed that the swamp could not be crossed. Consequently, the attack could not be made upon the Indians and British at the same time. It was therefore agreed that Colonel Johnson should be permitted to fight the British alone, first, because there was not room for the cavalry and infantry to fight at the same time, and secondly, because infantry and cavalry cannot fight together on the same ground at the same time. After General Harrison left Colonel Johnson, the latter discovered that the swamp could be crossed. Colonel Johnson then ordered his brother, Lieutenant Colonel James Johnson, to take command of the first battalion, and attack the British at the sound of the bugle, when he at the same moment would attack the Indians. Colonel Johnson crossed the swamp with the second battalion, and, by three charging columns, made the attack on the Indians at the same moment that his brother James attacked the British, both at the sound of the bugle. In less than fifteen minutes after the charge was made on the British, they surrendered; they were ordered to stack their arms, and were conducted by James Johnson prisoners of war to Gen. Harrison, and delivered to him at the head of the infantry, a mile in the rear of the battle. By permission of General Harrison, James Johnson returned and joined his brother, Colonel Richard, who was still fighting, and engaged with his battalion in the fight with the Indians. I have stated that Col. Richard M. Johnson made the attack on the Indians by three charging columns, but that mode of attack proved unsuccessful, owing to the thicket or underbrush and other obstructions which covered the ground, which made horses useless. The men were ordered to dismount, and fight the

Indians in their own way, and in that way the battle was finished, and victory obtained.

At the onset of the battle Colonel Johnson was at the head of what was called the forlorn hope, (twenty select men) and that hope in front of the charging columns. On the charge, and at the first fire, every man of that hope was cut off or unhorsed, except the Colonel himself, (and one other,) who received several wounds. After they were dismounted, Col. Johnson still continued in the front of the battle, and between his men and the Indians, until he came in contact with Tecumseh, and shot him. When the Indians saw their Chief fall, they took flight, and were pursued by Major Thompson for some distance. Colonel Johnson sunk under his wounds, and was borne from the field.

Where was General Harrison during this action? My colleague [Mr. CORWIN] says, that he was in the rear, where he ought to have been; but some of the demagogues and hired minions of the day, say "that he was in the heat of the battle, and in all parts of it." The statement of one fact will place that falsehood in its proper place.

Col. Johnson received five balls through his body and limbs. His clothes and accoutrements were perforated and cut from head to foot with balls, and the charger which he rode received fifteen wounds by rifle balls, of which he died in a few minutes after the action was over. How was it, then, if General Harrison was "in the heat of the battle, and in every part of it," that he came off without the smell of powder upon his garments. His escape must have been as miraculous as the escape of Daniel from the den of hungry lions, and of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, from the fiery furnace. The day of miracles has passed. General Harrison was not "in the heat of the battle of the Thames, and every part of it," and he had about as much to do with command in the action as John Rogers who was burnt at the stake.

Colonel R. M. Johnson commanded in the battle of the Thames.

"Colonel R. M. Johnson is the hero of the Thames."

I believe that General Harrison did his duty. But it is casting a dark reflection on General Harrison to say that he was in the heat of the battle with "Governor Shelby and his infantry." All the fighting was done on a square of not more than the fourth of a mile. If the infantry were present, why were the Indians not taken prisoners. If General Harrison could have crossed the swamps, and did not, he was highly to blame for permitting a single battalion to fight twelve or fifteen hundred Indians, near an hour. If he did cross the swamp with the infantry, and he and they were actually in the fight, that strips the battle of all its brilliancy, and the American arms of honor; for all the Indians escaped, except what fell. If the dragoons were fighting the Indians for near an hour in close grapple, why were the infantry not ordered to surround the Indians, and take them prisoners? Sir, attempt to rob Colonel Johnson and his gallant regiment of the glory of that battle, and that moment you run into inexplicable difficulties, and bring dis-

grace upon the American arms, and dishonor upon the commander. The history of the battle of the Thames had better be permitted to stand as it is, and as the world understands it. The political cause of General Harrison will not be advanced by violating truth, justice, and honor. The American people, ever ready to mete the reward of gratitude to those who defend their country in the hour of peril, have also the capacity and discrimination to award justice and honor to whom justice and honor are due.

The gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. CRARY,] in his remarks, thought that, in the confusion and turmoil of the surprise of Tippecanoe, the commanding General should have been at his tent, where he might have been found by the officers who sought his orders. To this my colleague [Col. CORWIN] took exceptions, and favored us with many illustrations and examples to prove that the commanding General should be at the head of his army, and in the front of the battle; but when he was forced to admit that General Harrison was in the rear of the battle of the Thames, with the infantry, he assured us, without any explanation or qualification, that that was the proper place for the commanding General. I believe, under all the circumstances, it was the proper place for General Harrison. These circumstances I have attempted to explain, though my colleague left us without explanation. I will attempt some illustrations to prove that the rear of an army has *not always* been the position which commanding Generals have occupied in time of battle.

In the great battle of Thymbrea between Cyrus and Cræsus, in which the whole power of the Persians and Medes was arrayed against the Lydians and Assyrians, after Cyrus had finished the order of attack, and was prepared to make the onset, he drank a little wine, poured some upon the ground as a libation to the gods, mounted his horse in the front of his army, and called out, "*Follow me.*" He continued to fight in front of the army until the battle was finished.

Alexander the Great commanded in person the right wing of his army against the Persians at the battle of the Granicus; he was the first to enter the river, and to meet and encounter the enemy on the other side. He continued to fight in the front ranks until victory was his.

The same Alexander was the first to mount the walls of Odyracea and plunge himself into the thickest of the enemy, when his army stormed that city.

Hannibal fought in the front ranks of the battle Cannæ.

In the celebrated battle between Cæsar and Pompey, the former was in the front ranks from the commencement of the engagement until the latter, with his troops, was routed.

Miltiades fought in person at the head and front of his army against the Persians, in the memorable battle of Marathon.

But later, (and my colleague brings it to my mind,) when Napoleon attempted to pass a bridge at Lodi, his troops were cut off as fast as they were marched up, column after column. He rushed to the head of the foremost column, in the midst of the thickest fire, seized the standard, and ordered

his troops to follow him. So, sir, commanding generals have not always posted themselves in the rear at the time of battle.

I would not have presented these illustrations with a view to apply them to General Harrison's position at the battle of the Thames, only that my colleague seemed desirous of turning his position to some political advantage, by assigning the rear as the *proper* place for him.

My colleague seemed to lay claim to the Presidency for General Harrison, because his history covered a great part of the history of this country. That argument, of itself, has but little weight in it. Some of the basest and most perfidious wretches that ever disgraced the image of man, and the vilest scourges that ever lived to curse the human family, have occupied the largest portion of history; and their names, though known in infamy alone, stand foremost on the records of human history. It is not the historical recollections of any man that secures to him respect and confidence in his own day. The man who has rendered services, civil or military, will find those services written in the hearts of his countrymen, and their affectionate remembrance will be transmitted to their posterity. If General Harrison has rendered services to his country which have not been cancelled, there is always a spirit of gratitude identified with, and forming a part of, the very nature of the American people, to reward them whenever the demand is made, so that it be not at the expense or *political principle*.

Has General Harrison uncanceled claims upon his country, and what are their character? If they are pecuniary, present them. Are they upon the gratitude of the people? If so, how are they to be liquidated? By a sacrifice of all political principle on the part of the Democracy of this country, do you suppose? No, sir. The Republicans of this country hold their Democratic principles too sacred to barter them off in gratitude for any man's services, however valuable they may have been. If General Jackson, at any time in the zenith of his popularity, with all the brilliancy and glory that surrounded his name, and all his transcendent services that constituted his country's boast, with all the unmeasured and unmeasurable flow of national gratitude in his favor, had, in the course of his political career, deserted or abandoned one of the fundamental principles of Democracy, the Republican party would have abandoned him politically, though they would have retained their gratitude for his services. Nor, sir, if the Father of our Country were to rise from the tomb and walk forth amongst us, demanding of the Republican party a sacrifice of their principles at the shrine of gratitude, it would be denied him. Gratitude is one thing with the Democracy, and political principle is another—the latter never can be sacrificed to the former. But more of this before I close.

I desire to inquire if the Federal party are sincere in their manifestations of gratitude to General Harrison for his military services. I have before exposed their inconsistency in relation to their support of a military chieftain for the Presidency; but I now desire to know whether all this show has any foundation in gratitude. Gratitude is one of

the noblest principles that claims a residence in the human bosom, while hypocrisy is one of the vilest that corrupts the heart of man. And now, sir, I fearlessly assert, that all this parade of gratitude for the military services of General Harrison is fiction and flummery; it is the result of contemptible demagoguism and corrupt hypocrisy for the purposes of party deception. You have neither confidence in the skill and qualifications of Gen. Harrison, nor gratitude for his services.

I say you have no confidence in his skill or qualifications, and having none yourselves, (you, the Federal leaders,) you believe secretly that the American people have none; hence it is you deem it necessary, as a substitute for the want of confidence, to thatch the country with certificates, thick and numerous as leaves in autumn. Why, sir, I hold a speech in my hand—a long speech—made and published by my colleague, [Mr. GOODE,] literally made up of certificates, to prove that General Harrison has done some service to his country. So it is with every speech made here: one half of the contents of every Federal newspaper consists in certificates of General Harrison's military services. Every wind that whistles past us rattles with certificates, paper resolves, dinner-party harangues, and stump orations, all to prove that the Federal candidate for the Presidency has been a General—has done service to his country—and is now a military chieftain; all of which, with the reflecting man, only goes to prove that the manufacturers of those certificates believe that the man for whom they are certifying has little or no hold on the confidence and affections of the people. If General Harrison has rendered services of such a character as to entitle him to the first office in the gift of the American people, do you suppose they don't know it? If he has not rendered such service, do you suppose you can manufacture a pasteboard General out of shinplaster certificates, and pass him off for a military chieftain? If you do, you will find yourselves as much mistaken as you were in the political effects of John Binns's coffin handbills.

Sir, I think your array of certificates degrades General Harrison. If I were his political friend, as I am his personal, I would deprecate and denounce your certificate system as degrading and politically impolitic. As it is with me, I say General Harrison deserves better and more dignified treatment. By such a course of treatment, you fasten upon his name in life, and his memory in death, the odious cognomen of "*the certificate General*." If you are sincere in your demonstrations of gratitude for the services of General Harrison, why did you let them sleep, almost without notice, for more than a quarter of a century? Why did you let one entire generation pass away, and part of another, without even waking them up by the thundering artillery, in celebration of the "*battle of Tippecanoe*?" Who ever heard of the celebration of the "*battle of Tippecanoe*," until after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century? Why did you let General Harrison glide down the hill of time to its very horizon, before you once thought of gladdening his heart by demonstrations of gratitude for his perilous services in "*the battle of Tippecanoe*?" Now when he is treading on the broken and decayed planks of the bridge of time, when the clouds of night begin to thicken about his head—when the death bell of threescore and ten begins to ring in his ears, just when the Divine lease for the longest life of man is about to expire, and just when, according to the terms of that lease, he must take his leap from the horizon of time to eternity; just when, with all your demonstrations of gratitude, if even accompanied with artillery's loudest thundering peals, you can hardly quicken the pulsation of the relaxed, time-worn artery, as it drives the stream of life sluggishly along its quivering channel, you commence celebrating "*the battle of Tippecanoe*." You are not sincere, I repeat. All your outward demonstrations of gratitude are nothing but cant and hypocrisy, worthy of a demagogue and a reckless and unprincipled faction, who stand prepared to seize and possess yourselves of power, even at the sacrifice of the principles of your Government and the prostration of your free institutions. It is power and office you are hunting after, as the hungry hyena howls across the sultry desert of Sahara.

But are you sincere; and do you really want to cast your suffrage for a military man? Then I present you the name of Colonel Richard M. Johnson. He is a candidate not for the first office in your gift, but for the second. He has done service to his country. He has distinguished himself as a statesman in the Cabinet, and as a soldier in the field. His name stands foremost of all now living in the history of his country's praise. His civil life has been devoted to his country's highest interests. The free institutions of the Government have ever received a steady and powerful support from his hand while in the councils of the nation. The claims of the Revolutionary soldier have always had his strictest attention. While a member of Congress, his time, his talents, and his influence, have

been devoted to that remnant, who linger in life and old age, only to link the living with the dead, and to tell with living lips, and a warm heart, the stories of the Revolution. The never ceasing praise of the soldier's widow and the soldier's orphan are his. His heart is formed of kindness, and melts at the demand of charity and need. His home is the home of the poor man. His table stands spread for the hungry, and his purse is ever open to the purposes of charity and humanity. Then Col. Johnson has some civil claims upon your suffrage. He is the friend of the human family; will you cast him your suffrage. No, he must be a military man these chivalroustimes, and in this Federal day of military jubilee. But he too is a military chieftain. He fought in the same war with General Harrison. He fought the enemy two to one on the plains of the Thames; conquered and came off victorious, covered with wounds. "*He is the hero of the Thames.*"

His deeds of daring, bravery, and patriotism, are recorded in the hearts of an affectionate people; the song of praise and a nation's gratitude are his. His claims present themselves not on monuments, or slabs of marble, nor need you turn to history's page for them—they live in the bosom of freemen—they animate the grateful hearts of freemen, and dwell in delight upon the lips of those who love to praise their country. He comes not enveloped in a cloud of shipplaster certificates to prove he has fought his country's battles. No, sir; the hacked weapons of our country's foe, the bones of the enemy that bleach on the plains of the Thames, a limping gait, and a body covered with deep wounds and scars received in deadly conflict, hardly yet cicatrized, are his certificates. The manly and noble indignation of a proud people would be the reward, and rest upon him who would attempt to establish Colonel Johnson's services in the field or the cabinet by paper certificates—such a one would be spurned from his presence, scouted from society, and held in contempt. I say the scars that cover his body are his certificates. His certificates will go down to the grave with him; but they will live in memory while an American heart beats in love for its country, and until the tongue that praises is struck dumb.

Will you (the Federalists) cast your suffrages for Colonel Johnson for the *second* office in your gift? No, you will not. The epitaph of "*poor John Woods*" will cover every ticket that Colonel Johnson will receive from the tapered fingered Federal Bank Abolition Whigs at the next Presidential election.

There have been times when the reckless ambition of party gave way to the full sway of merited gratitude, when all were prepared to award to merit her due. At the fierce and bloody battle of Ithoma, between the Massineans and the Lacademonians, two individuals who had distinguished themselves most in the battle on the side of the Massineans, after the close of the battle, were competitors for the prize of glory and honor. They were Aristomenes and Cleonis. The former had slain a great many of the enemy, and distinguished himself in a most signal manner; but came out of the fight without wounds or the loss of blood. Cleonis had distinguished himself equally with his competitor, and slain an equal number of the enemy; but was so covered with wounds, and such was his loss of blood, that he had to be carried from the field. Each argued his case before the court military in presence of the whole army. Cleonis founded his claims upon the great number of the enemy he had slain, and the number of wounds with which he was covered, were so many *certificates* of his bravery. Aristomenes contended that he had displayed as much courage, and slain as many of the enemy as his competitor, and had borne *him* on his shoulders in his helpless condition from the field, and he was sorry to find that Cleonis should want gratitude. Cleonis replied, that if Aristomenes had endangered his person as much as he had, he was very fortunate in escaping unhurt; and that his carrying him off the field only showed his strength of body, not his courage. Aristomenes rejoined, that the fact of his having the skill and power to ward off the blows of his adversaries was to his credit, rather than to his disadvantage, and ought to be so considered. If it was by cowardice (and that no one would charge upon him) he saved himself from wounds, he ought, indeed, to be on his trial for punishment and infamy.

The friends of General Harrison and the friends of Colonel Johnson have placed them before the American people, and contend, on their behalf, for each, the award of glory and honor gained in the battle of the Thames. Colonel Johnson commanded, fought, slew the enemy, conquered, and was borne off the field, covered with wounds, and sinking from the loss of blood. General Harrison did not command, did not fight, and left the field without wounds, or loss of blood. To which will you award the honor, Cleonis or Aristomenes?

No, sir: Colonel Johnson will receive no Federal votes, not even for the second office in your gift, while General Harrison will receive every Federal vote in the Union for the first office.

It is not military fame nor civil services that you are trying to reward; your great object is to overthrow a Democratic Administration, and establish a Federal Administration. You are emphatically the Federal party. I care not what name

you periodically assume to yourselves. You are the same party who endeavored to strip the States of all sovereignty and independence, and establish a central and consolidated Federal Government, at the commencement of our political Union. You are the same party that passed and maintained the odious and disgraceful alien and sedition laws. You are the same party who, from the commencement of the Government to this day, have been exerting yourselves to the extent of your powers and abilities to fix upon this nation and this people a great central moneyed power in the character of a National Bank, the tendency and nature of which is to establish two distinct orders of society, and make the one hewers of wood and drawers of water to the other. You are the same party, with some individual exceptions, who were opposed to the last war with Great Britain, and will be to the next. You are the same party who were arrayed against the election and administration of Thomas Jefferson, and to every other Democratic Administration from that time to this. You are the same party who have ever held in contempt the free exercise of the elective franchise, and sneer at the right of instruction, and have more than once violated both. Caricature, slander, and falsehood, were the means by which you electioneered against Thomas Jefferson; and they are the means by which you electioneer now, and have from that time to this.

Thomas Jefferson was denounced as an atheist, and many of the good and unsuspecting people were taught to believe that if he should be elected President of the United States, all the public houses dedicated to the worship of God would be turned into houses of infamy and debauchery. That the land would be overspread with French infidelity, and all the Bibles would be burnt; and so strong were these impressions enforced, that many of the pious matrons, on hearing of the election of Thomas Jefferson, hid their Bibles in hollow trees, in the woods. Caricature! Yes, sir, I hold in my hand a caricature, entitled, "*Modern Philanthropy, or The Age of Reason*," and "*dedicated respectfully to Tom Jefferson, Tom Paine, the devil and Black Sall.*"

In this caricature, you see Thomas Jefferson is represented in the act of cowhiding an old lady, with a grasp by the throat so tight, that her eye balls are started from their sockets, her tongue lolled out, and she upon her knees, with her arms stretched out in an imploring attitude; her Bible is under his foot.

Tom Paine is represented as having one hand on Jefferson's shoulder, and the other stretched out, with his Age of Reason in it. Black Sall stands on the right, and the Salt mountain is seen at a distance through the window. Yes, sir, one of the Federal modes of electioneering at that day, was by degrading caricatures, ever considered, since the dawn of civilization, the basest and meanest mode of libelling. So, too, it was the Federal mode of electioneering in 1824, and 1828. I hold in my hand one of John Binns's coffin handbills, on which, you see, is represented eighteen coffins, said on the bill to correspond with the number of innocent and unoffending persons that General Jackson murdered, either himself, or caused to be shot. Also, a short biographical sketch of the life and death of those unfortunate victims of General Jackson's barbarity, each concluding with a verse or two of solemn poetry, set to the tune of Old Hundred. Here, also, is the tomb of "*Poor John Woods*," with his epitaph written. This was one of the Federal modes of electioneering in 1824 and 1828; and it is one of the Federal modes now of electioneering. I hold in my hand a caricature, which represents Mr. Van Buren by the body of a reptile, with the head of a man, winding his way up a steep rock, and General Jackson by the body of a tortoise and the head of a man, descending from the top of the same rock, with the inscription underneath—

"*High places in Government, like steep rocks, only accessible to eagles and reptiles*"

Yes, sir, caricature is one of the modes of electioneering now.

The Federal party now are the same party called the Federalists in 1793—their principles are the same, and their base and slanderous mode of electioneering is the same. Tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of these vile panders of falsehood and slander have been franked by Whig members, and sent from this Capitol by mail, at the public expense, and distributed all over the Union to advance the cause of the "*log cabin candidate*" for the Presidency. How often have the people rebuked such base conduct—such degrading attempts at insult upon their understanding! When will these Whigs learn wisdom; when will they learn to appreciate the intelligence of the people?

General Harrison has been presented as the available candidate by the Whigs. What makes him available? Is it because he is a military man? If it is intended he shall be available by the Democracy, he wants another requisite. He must be a Democrat. General Jackson was elected President, not merely because he was a military man, not merely because he had rendered transcendent military services to his country in her darkest hour and greatest peril, but because he was a Democrat, and had always been identified with the Democratic party. General Harrison refuses to inform us what his politi-

cal principles are at this time, and what his views are in relation to the great questions that interest this country at this time, and his political conscience keepers refuse to answer for him. We must, therefore, be governed in this matter by circumstances. John Randolph called Gen. Harrison a Federalist to his face in Congress, and said that he (Harrison) was a friend to the Federal black cockade administration of old John Adams. General Harrison did not deny the former, and he virtually admitted the latter. To my knowledge, and to the knowledge of all who have known him as I have, General Harrison has been acting with the Federal party for twenty years, and sustaining all their measures, principles, and policy. I know him to have been in favor of the recharter of the Bank of the United States. I know him to have been opposed to the removal of the deposits of the public money from the Bank of the United States and the branches thereof. He is opposed to a separation of the Government from the rotten, tottering, and swindling banking institutions of this day; consequently, he is opposed to the establishment of an independent, constitutional, and national Treasury. Like the party to which he belongs, and whose candidate he is, he is in favor of a high protective tariff, shinplaster currency, a national debt, surplus revenue, and splendid schemes of internal improvement, and consequently impost taxes. In short, he is in favor of the Hamiltonian system of policy; a system by which two hundred millions of the British debt have been saddled upon this country and this people, and under which the commercial community are now groaning; a splendid Government, an aristocratic order, and a poor people, will be the offspring of such a policy.

Are we to be told that the present State debts, which have produced the scarcity of money and the depressed price of produce which now exist, grew out of the policy of this or the last National Administration? These Administrations have had about as much to do with the State debts, and the State improvements which have created the debts, as the Government of Spain.

Are we to be told that the system of credit and the use of paper money, which are the parents of all the embarrassments, pecuniary and commercial, had their origin with this or the last Administration? Why, sir, it has been a cardinal maxim, and a fundamental principle with this and the last Administration, to establish a sound, uniform, and constitutional currency, by which that very policy, so pernicious to, and destructive of, our best interests, would be put down. I mean the banking paper and credit system, which is the source and fountain of all our difficulties and embarrassments, and a system which had its origin with the financial administration of Alexander Hamilton, and the introduction of his National Bank and credit policy. The struggle now between the two great contending parties, is whether the Hamiltonian Bank credit and paper currency system shall be revived, confirmed, and fastened upon this country, with all the train of evils which have, and will again, follow such a system, such as a national debt, heavy impost taxes, an unsound currency, bank suspensions, bank failures, and bank blow-ups, paper contractions and paper expansions, high prices to-day and low prices to-morrow, &c. or shall we establish a sound and uniform currency, the currency contemplated by the patriots of the Revolution and the framers of the Constitution, and a currency, too, that will enforce regularity in trade, foreign and domestic, and uniformity in the prices of every article of bargain and barter? Shall we limit our revenue to the wants of the Government, and keep our public improvements and expenditures within our means, and within the constitutional powers of Congress? In short, is it not better that we should have a limited Government, with free institutions—a poor Government, and a rich people?

The question now is, General Harrison, a National Bank, a splendid Government, poor people, a shinplaster currency, and a privileged order, against Martin Van Buren, a sound currency, an Independent Treasury, (independent of the banks,) rigid economy, a poor Government, a rich people, and equal rights. Which side do you take, sir? and as I cannot answer that

question, I will tell you which side I take; I go for Kinderhook, and the Independent Treasury; I go with the hard handed industry; I go with those who depend upon their own resources for their living; the farmer and the mechanic, all of which constitute the Democracy of this country and of every other. Yes, sir, I go with them against Gen. Harrison, a National Bank, and the modern Whig party, who are made up of

Coxcombs and dandies, and loafers and nibblers;
Shavers and blacklegs, and pedlers and scribblers;
Bankers and brokers, and cunning buffoons;
Thieves that steal millions, and thieves that steal spoons;
Rascals in ruffles, and rascals in rags;
Beggars in coaches, and beggars on nags;
Quackers and doctors, with scalpels and squills;
Pettifoggers and lawyers, with green bags and bills;
Shylocks unfeeling, and dealers in stocks;
Some dashing fine ladies! in splendid silk frocks.
Such is the crew that for Harrison bellows,
Always excepting some very fine fellows.

Do you desire to know the feelings of the Western people in relation to Harrison, Jackson, Johnson, and their relative services? I can tell you. If a Western man is asked his opinion of General Harrison, his answer will be, nineteen times out of twenty, that General Harrison is a very good man, and was a tolerable General. He has done his country some service, and that *perhaps* he discharged his official duties in the last war, about as well as could be expected, all circumstances considered. This, sir, I repeat, will be the general answer. In some instances a higher opinion will be expressed—in some instances a lower one. My colleagues on this floor, Whigs and Democrats, will bear me out in what I say; but when you hear Jackson and Johnson named, they are named in praise and song, in affection and pride. Yes, sir, in praise and song. Were you ever at a corn shucking in the West? If you were, you never left it without hearing the wool hat and linsey hunting-shirt boys sing—

Mary Rogers are a case,
And so are Sally Thompson,
General Jackson are a horse,
And so are Colonel Johnson.

I see, sir, in some of the Western Whig papers, the name "*Harrison Democrats*." This is a new name under the sun. Well, sir, as the world grows older names will increase. New names will run *pari passu* with the world's age and with the cunning and trickery of Federalism. "*Harrison Democrats*" in the West are like the Frenchman's flea: when you attempt to put your finger on them they are not there. "*Harrison Democrats*" may be put in the list with mermaids, sea serpents, and unicorns. They are names in fancy, fiction, and poetry. Sir, if you can catch a "*Harrison Democrat*," take him to Ohio and exhibit him. I would advise you also to accompany the exhibition with a Whig buffoon that can jump "*Jim Crow*" to the music of the psalter, tamarine, and the sackbut. You will clear more hard cash in one day than you will by playing Congressman a month.

In conclusion, let me say, the Democracy understand and appreciate their principles. They have stood by them in prosperity and adversity, through bank panics and Federal frauds, through good and through evil report. They are not now to be driven from their position by the stale cry of "*panic!*" "*panic!*" or drawn from their principles by the empty show and buffoon display of log cabins, hard cider, and shinplaster-certificate-military-renown. Principle is the watchword with the Democracy, and principle they will maintain. The Democracy of this country hug to their bosoms, and cherish in their hearts their principles as they revere the sacred memories of their ancestors, who secured them with their treasure, their blood, and their lives; they will as soon be guilty of the base ingratitude of forgetting the one, as to desert the other, either by threats, flattery, or bribery.

